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BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

EDUCATION IN DISADVANTAGED URBAN AREAS

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CONDITA A.D.
1630.

INFORMATION RETRIEVAL CENTER ON THE DISADVANTAGED
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WILLIAM H. OHRENBERGER, *Superintendent*

EDUCATION IN DISADVANTAGED URBAN AREAS

January–March

1964

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH, EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION

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SICUT PATRIBUS, SIT DEUS NOBIS
BOSTONIA
CONDITA A.D.
1630.
CIVITATIS REGIMINE DONATA A.D. 1822.

UD 001 118

AN IN-SERVICE COURSE

Under the Direction of
William J. Cunningham, *Assistant Superintendent*

ORGANIZATION OF THE SCHOOL COMMITTEE OF BOSTON
1964

William E. O'Connor, *Chairman*

Thomas S. Eisenstadt
Arthur J. Gartland
Mrs. Louise Day Hicks
Joseph Lee

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THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

On September 1, 1862, President Lincoln issued the following warning announcement:

> On January 1, 1863, *"All persons held as slaves within any State or designated part of a State, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, henceforth and forever free."*

Foreword

From Colonial times Boston has been a port of entry for wave after wave of immigrants coming to America, seeking to escape persecution, or to improve their economic conditions. Since 1940, however, Boston has welcomed a new kind of immigrant — an in-migrant really — the rural Negro from the deep South. Possessing little beyond crude hand skills, not salable in an industrialized northern city, without money, bewildered, and illiterate, these in-migrants swelled welfare rolls and unemployment lists; perforce made their homes in the slum areas of the city. In the end result, their overall condition was worsened rather than improved.

In 1940 Boston Negroes numbered 23,675. By 1960 the Negro population had almost tripled, giving Boston by far the greatest proportion of the 110,000 Negroes living in Massachusetts. Roughly, two-thirds of Boston's 70,000 Negro population today is not Boston-born. A recent study reveals that a meager 10 per cent of Boston's Negro families are in the $5,000 or over-income category.[1]

It is well to point out at once that there are pockets of poverty among the whites living in Boston, too; situations where the yoke of unemployment, lack of money, illness, and alcoholism, with its attendant evils, weigh heavily upon the local community. Important, also, to remember is the fact that the Negro community is the oldest non-Yankee group in Boston, and among them are Negro families that are not disadvantaged. On the contrary, they are quality people. A wide economic, social, and cultural background not only separates, but distinguishes them — except for color — from the more recent Negro in-migrant.

The impact of great numbers of these Southern-born Negroes upon provincial Boston (10 per cent of the population today from an earlier 2 to 3 per cent) has created grave problems: the frustrating matter of employment discrimination; patterns of residential segregation; and, finally, impingement upon the schools, where, by adroit manipulation of public opinion, emphasis has been sharply focused, so that, in effect, the schools — most unfairly — have been fashioned into a whipping post for all the Negroes' woes. Nothing could be further from the truth. Indeed, evidence indicates that if the Negro has a sympathetic ally in his struggle for a more positive image, it is the school teacher. This fact is so true that it may be stated with the force of an axiom. Without her, his cause is lost.

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[1] *The Negro in Boston.* (Action for Boston Community Development.) RHEABLE M. EDWARDS; LAURA B. MORRIS; ROBERT M. COARD.

Handicapped children from the disadvantaged geographic areas of the city have overtaxed school facilities, and because of the inadequacies of their home environment, and the absence of social exposure, and sequential school experiences, have posed serious educational problems. It is unrealistic to suppose that these impedimenta which are germane to the Negroes' plight will be resolved by some magic formula which will telescope these divergencies into an instantaneous time capsule, and by tomorrow, at the latest, the desired changes — those things which the Negro hopes for — will be a *fait accompli.* This is a physical impossibility. Rome was not built in a day. And the alleviation of Negro injustices which are centuries old will have a period of beginning, of middle, and an end. This procedure involves time. Corrective steps have been taken, and the schools will continue to explore new and better ways to communicate with disadvantaged boys and girls to meet their special needs.

Specifically, special programs for assisting nonwhite[1] disadvantaged boys and girls—compensatory programs—placing emphasis upon reading skills and modified curriculum goals are already in use. Their purpose is to enrich background knowledge, and to give practice in those skills—oral and written language, and training to listen—which are basic. These kinds of competence are a *sine qua non* if further formal educational experiences are to be had.[2]

For certain pupils showing a particularly wide discrepancy between their chronological and mental ages an upgrading class is housed in the Abraham Lincoln School. As classroom space permits, pupils may be accepted from any part of the city. Each pupil assigned goes at his own pace, and, as soon as he is ready for grade placement, he is moved into a normal school situation.

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[1] U. S. Census Bureau lists only "whites" and "nonwhites." In the North 96 percent of the nonwhites are Negroes.

[2] Confer pilot program OPERATION COUNTERPOISE at Henry L. Higginson District. (Expanded 1964–65 to eleven other districts.)

The philosophy of the Boston Public Schools supports the "walk-in" or "around-the-corner" or "neighborhood" school as making good sense. Certainly it does at the elementary level. However, if a parent wishes his child to go to some school in another part of the city, it is a well publicized fact that this is possible under Boston's Open Enrollment policy—provided certain conditions are fulfilled.[1]

This business of what school the youngster attends is a by-product of population mobility—an American character trait, its genesis going back to the crossing of the Appalachian mountains, and the settlement of the West. Regardless of any good which may be predicated about this phenomenon, educators know full well that it does have a definite deleterious effect upon the child who is continually being transferred from one school to another. It contributes to insecurity; it destroys the orderly sequential learning process; it creates behavioral problems; and it nourishes the potential dropout.

Teachers in the Roxbury-North Dorchester schools are particularly sensitive to the problem of pupil mobility because in these disadvantaged areas of the city it impinges relentlessly upon teaching goals. Aside from the personal frustrations created, it is completely disheartening, when city-wide grade and subject achievement scores are released, to be accused by self-appointed critics of having turned in a substandard teaching performance when pupil mobility, absenteeism, low aspirational levels, bizarre behavior, and parental indifference negate the teacher's best efforts to bring her class up to the normative grade level.

Many of these Roxbury and North Dorchester schools which formerly housed all Irish, or all Jewish, pupils today are largely Negro schools. It is interesting to note that some of the older teachers have in their life span taught all three waves of racial groups. Of the remaining teachers in the area, the majority are middle-aged, or young teachers appointed as retirements took place. These youthful replacements, fresh from their classrooms in the teachers colleges, bright-eyed and enthusiastic as they are, sometimes present a special kind of problem, because, having been trained for suburban teaching rather than for work in urban school systems, where the difficulties differ both in quantity and in essence, they are likely to be insecure, and this hinders their teaching performance.

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[1] **Conditions: (a) A pupil may go to any school provided there is a seat in that school available for him; (b) provided the desired course or grade placement is possible; and, finally, (c) parents must assume the responsibility for the pupil's transportation.**

Because Boston is committed to the continuing improvement of instruction offered to all pupils attending the Boston Public Schools, and because it is my own conviction that Negro pupils in disadvantaged urban schools present unique problems, e.g., lack of ability to communicate, hostility and suspicion, the handicap of color, poor housing and substandard environment, low self-esteem, etc., I decided upon an in-service course designed to enlarge the spectrum of knowledge of both the veteran and novice teacher about the Negro—how these girls and boys lived, how they felt and thought, and how their own low self-esteem so many times led them to an attitude of despair and concomitant low achievement.

Accordingly, I designated Assistant Superintendent William J. Cunningham, in charge of Curriculum and the Improvement of Instruction, to organize a series of *ad hoc* lectures, and to procure as speakers prominent authorities in the behavioral sciences and in education—men and women who had made contributions to solving problems germane to educating children living in disadvantaged urban areas.

Over 700 teachers, supervisors, principals, and head masters attended the course, and the fact that so many took the trouble to either telephone or write, praising the lectures or expressing their pleasure about the selection of topics, was, I assure you, a source of deep personal satisfaction to me.

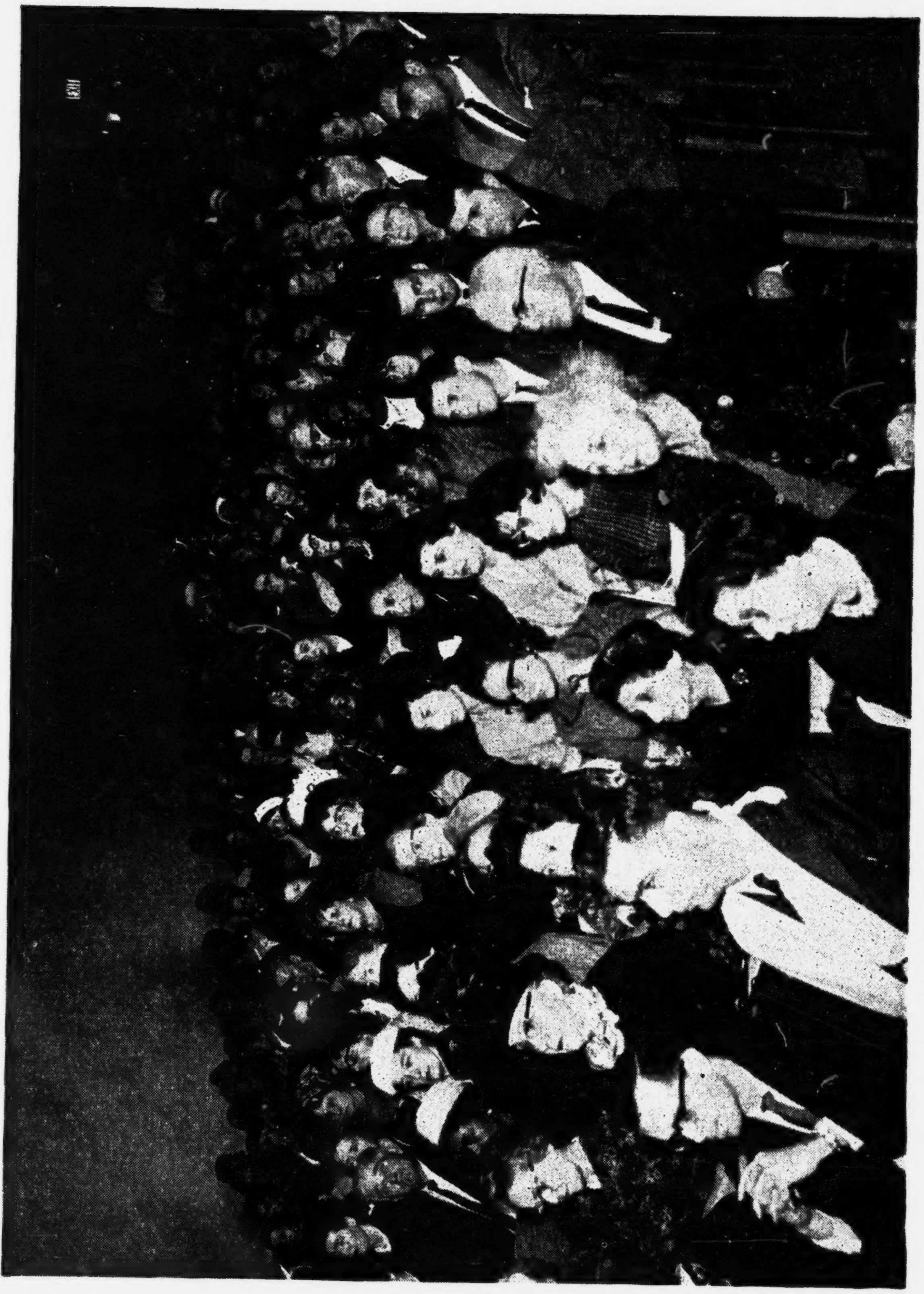
The extremely low rate of absenteeism, even on those days when the weather was bad, indicated several things. Teacher loyalty and professional dedication, for one thing. Also indicated was the need for further consideration of the topic Education in Disadvantaged Urban Areas. Therefore Part II—really an extension in depth—of the course is projected for the school year directly ahead (1964–65).

To Assistant Superintendent William J. Cunningham, to Mr. Hugh H. O'Regan, principal of the Charles E. Mackey School, to Mr. John S. Dooley, Director of Audio-Visual Instruction, and his staff of technicians, to all who contributed in any way to the success of the course, I am grateful.

WILLIAM H. OHRENBERGER,
Superintendent of Schools.

August 15, 1964.

OVER 700 TEACHERS AND
ADMINISTRATORS IN ATTENDANCE
AT AN IN-SERVICE COURSE MEETING
AT THE
CHARLES E. MACKEY SCHOOL



Guest Lecturers

Jack Childress is the Dean of the School of Education at Boston University. He holds a Bachelor's and Master's degree in Education from the University of Illinois, and his Doctorate is from Northwestern University.

Robert A. Feldmesser is a Professor of Sociology at Brandeis University. His Bachelor's degree is from Rutgers University. He holds a Master of Arts degree in Soviet Studies, and a Ph.D. in Sociology from Harvard University.

Melvin Howards is an Assistant Professor at Northeastern University and Director of the Northeastern Center for Reading Improvement. His Bachelor's degree is from Drake University, his Master's degree from Teachers College, Columbia University, and his Ph.D. from New York University.

Roger T. Lennon is Vice-President and Director of the Test Department of Harcourt Brace and World, Incorporated. Dr. Lennon holds a Bachelor's and a Master's degree from Fordham University. His Doctorate is from Teachers College, Columbia University.

Erich Lindemann, M.D., is the head of the Department of Psychiatry at the Massachusetts General Hospital in Boston. Dr. Lindemann holds both an M.D. and a Ph.D. from the Universities of Marburg and Giessen, Germany. Over the years he has been a Professor at Harvard University in the Medical School, the School of Public Health, and in the Department of Social Relations.

Catherine M. Maney holds a Bachelor of Science as well as a Master's degree in Education from the State College at Boston. She is presently serving as Coordinator for the Boston Public Schools working with the Action for Boston Community Development (ABCD) group.

Edward L. Murphy, S.J., is a Professor at Boston College, a learned product of the long and intensive internship to which every Jesuit priest must subject himself. His Master's degree is from Boston College, and his Doctorate is from the Gregorian University in Rome, where he majored in International Studies.

A. Harry Passow is a Professor of Education at Teachers College, Columbia University. His Bachelor's degree is from the New York State College at Albany. His Master's and Doctoral degrees are from Columbia University. Dr. Passow is an authority on Education in Depressed Areas, and is the author of countless monographs and several books concerned with Curriculum Development.

Herbert E. Tucker, Jr., is Assistant Attorney General of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He is a graduate of our own beloved Boston Latin School, and his law degree is from Northeastern University. He has lectured widely at the college level on matters germane to Civil Rights.

EDUCATION IN
DISADVANTAGED URBAN AREAS

The Urbanization of America: Patterns and Problems

Rev. Edward L. Murphy, S.J.

Urbanization, as you know, is not a phenomenon that is occurring only in the Western world. Fifteen of the largest cities in the world are in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, and their cities are growing perhaps more rapidly than our cities. That is why in my particular field urbanization is of paramount importance. The flow of populations from rural and low-income areas into cities creates problems that are not only civic, cultural, political, and social but also moral and religious. This is a human event, not merely an American event, and its effects are rather universally applicable in greater or lesser degrees. The migration of thousands from one place to another seems to be characteristic of this country.

We are not here to discuss or devise ways and means of arresting this event. Our problem is more pragmatic, if you will; what must be done to alleviate, if not to completely solve, the difficulties in the existing situation and, in particular, what place our schools occupy in this effort. I would like to suggest that we are not considering the event with a cold, impersonal eye but with cordial warmth towards and concern for our fellow-members in the human family. We will not be talking about an abstraction called the city or society; but about people, with bodies and souls, with hopes and fears, with ambitions and discouragements, with opportunities and without opportunities, with cultural background and without cultural background, wanted and unwanted, loved, ignored, and even hated.

The subject is so vast, and studies are multiplying so rapidly, that one might feel hopeless in the face of it. The patterns and problems run the gamut of human relations—physical, domestic, social, economic, political, cultural, moral, and religious. It enlists the services of the statistician, the businessman, the labor leader, the city administrator, the sociologist, the cultural anthropologist, the realtor, the banker, the policeman, the ministers of religion, the health and welfare directors, the teacher—to name a few whose professions are involved.

Allow me to venture one point of view. We are a pioneering and inventive people by history, capable in the past and in the present of magnificent ventures. We are the inheritors of great hope for all mankind and uniquely generous. The hour is already late, but it does seem that we must turn our genius, resourcefulness, generosity to the pioneering work of solving the urban problems that become more acute each day.

It should be clear that the system of education is part of the effort and should not be made responsible for the total campaign, even though education does play a very large role in any designs we may have for successful acculturation or assimilation. It is an expensive process, as public housing has already shown. But mounting welfare costs are expensive, too, and will become more so unless we are able to do something about our core or central city problems and the development of more economically independent and self-reliant people.

We have shown our human concern internationally by the many programs of aid to undeveloped countries. Without by any means abandoning this international effort, perhaps we could sharpen our aid programs, our Peace Corps for the domestic crisis of our cities. If we are successful, we could well serve as the pilot project for the world problem. May we confront the situation with courage and energy as well as with expanding knowledge! I mention courage, because I fear that the consideration of the problems may lead us to think the situation is hopeless and beyond solution. We must refuse to think that way, no matter what difficulties are in the way of progress. It is true that the air is today more electric with tensions, resentments, possible violence, and demands for immediate answers than a quarter of a century ago. Perhaps that is not the most advantageous atmosphere; but we must be realistic and deal to the best of our genius with what is.

My function, I believe, is to set the scene, to describe the effects of rapid urbanization, a movement that undoubtedly will go on for a long time. The influx of new peoples from culturally and economically depressed areas is quite understandable. They come for the same human reasons for which the ancestors of many of us came from Europe—with a hope for a chance at self-improvement, or to escape an impossible situation.

There is money in cities. There are opportunities for better living. Conveniences and comforts and amusements are more available. Cities are usually the centers of educational advancement—centers of political activity and of economic power. The destinies of people seem to be shaped in cities. Concentration of people in cities means power, security, progress. As city-dwellers we know that is not the whole story of the city. But it is the fascinating side of the coin which captures the imagination, incites the desires, and stirs wills to move to cities. Cities would be especially attractive to those who have little or nothing. Technology, industrialization, transportation, communications have improved life as well as they have complicated it. But cities grow old and central cities run down. In the meantime no-income or low-income groups crowd into rent-cheap areas, and realtors at times are not above exploitation of the desperate, the illiterate, and the disorganized. The physical condition of these areas is allowed to decay; the social atmosphere and moral sensitivity deteriorate.

The thought may arise that other peoples have come into the cities in the past and eventually were assimilated. Why is there such a problem with the newcomers? It must be remembered that in earlier years people coming here had strong family loyalties which cushioned them to some extent against the hardships of assimilation. They also developed in-between groups among themselves, social, economic, cultural, religious, which sustained them during the period of assimilation.

But those who have come into the cities recently do not have strong family organization and they have invented no in-between groups to help them over the difficulties of adjustment. So these groups have less cement, as it were, to hold them together and to urge them to organization and cooperation. The absence of family stability and effective in-between organizations begets a civic irresponsibility.

What is needed is a sense of social security and of community as a prelude to advance. People are bewildered by their isolation, their lack of belonging, with the result that there is no feeling of community or neighborhood, certainly no pride in neighborhood or community. There is no strength or direction from a middle-class leadership or environment. Some leadership emphasizes symbolic things, sit-ins, etc., which do not necessarily express the needs of the mass of people.

Slums are a depressing fact of modern cities, and not an economic problem that can be solved by planning alone. Much planning is being done and much construction of better housing. Raising the standard of living, programs for redevelopment, and providing physical amenities are indeed necessary. But the slum is also a human problem; it tends to create a mentality. People come from other areas with hopes—but ill-equipped to make their way in the city—and so they settle for what they can get.

It is the slum mentality which is so perilous with its apathy, indifference, and despair. Perhaps people could do something to improve their conditions; but there is no motivation, no sense of really belonging to the place where they are, especially when there is overcrowding. There is no interest in the place, and often not even in neighbors. Many would get out if they could but they are imprisoned by social attitudes, prejudice, and economic inability. Dependence on government and welfare eases some of the anguish, but is hardly the most intelligent solution. Furthermore, welfare mentality could keep on for several generations if nothing is done to develop some self-reliance, to create job opportunities, to improve education, and to overcome the general tendency to drop out from school—a characteristic of these areas.

Some cities have found that the vast majority of welfare cases are due to unemployment. This comes from a lack of skill, the disappearance of unskilled jobs, the problems of automation. The hope of the young for decent employment is negated, and so economic improvement is dashed. Resentment deepens, anger begins to grow, and that is the atmosphere for explosion. Yet this part of the city population is constantly growing by birth increase and migration.

We must face the fact that all of these people know the idea of American democracy, its assurances of equal opportunity, and the guarantee of social justice. So they cannot be blamed for impatience when they really want to improve; or for angry desperation if they feel that everything is against them.

For most, the chances of advance and success seem remote and in many cases weighted against them by racial discrimination. The tendency is to divide the world between "we" and "they." "They" are the agents of the dominant group, official or unofficial, benevolent or discriminating—government, police, schools, social workers, and anyone who comes among them with the stigma of the successful middle classes. Oftentimes the only cement is the hostility to the dominant group, the "they." It seems that it is a reaction against possible humiliation that makes subgroups raise barriers against social change. So any change directed solely at the shortcomings of people is handicapped by the humiliating implications of such policy.

Most of the men in these groups are unskilled, and many labor unions are closed to them; hence the hope of job security vanishes. Without job security there is little hope for dignified family security. Without family security there is little hope for that domestic atmosphere and stability so necessary for raising children. Without a genuine family spirit, without economic security, with overcrowding in run-down areas, children are menaced. They show scholastic failure, not because there is any inferior capacity but because the capacity is not developed, and in a way cannot be developed because of home circumstances, the lack of education, or interest in it, among parents. All of us know about the sorrow of dropouts which have reached such alarming proportions today. Recreational facilities are not available, and the young are forced to divert themselves on the streets and corners. Because the areas often are so run-down, dirt and filth accumulate, and this automatically dulls any regard for cleanliness. Furthermore, the facilities for personal cleanliness are often lacking. All around them they see the economic and cultural advantage of the dominant middle classes.

Central city runs down. Relocation for urban renewal often has resulted in expansion to already deteriorating areas where rents may hopefully be low, so that there follows a geographical transference of the problem, if not expansion of it. Development authorities are trying to re-establish these areas with a view to the needs of people, the needs of families; with a view to maintaining areas and neighborhoods while improving them. Yet we are told by Dennis Clark, who has been involved in this problem of urban renewal and redevelopment, that public housing cannot achieve complete social justice. It does offset some of the more vicious aspects of the ghetto.

Clark believes that the great central city segregated areas are not going to disappear quickly. They are too huge to dispel with a few legal flourishes. But decent dwellings in projects take some of the fever and resentment out of the present segregation system which keeps the underprivileged together. They help to keep hard-pressed people from cracking; they give us time to step up wages, create job opportunities, build up pressure and power in the effort to break down the housing segregation system that has locked minorities out of full participation in the housing market. Clark notes that public housing was caught in the middle of the quarter century of urban explosion which caused unique and abnormal pressures of migration and community disorganization. It occurred when the vast urban system of racial segregation in housing was gouging the heart out of the central city—often through cynical and crude exploitation of newcomers to the cities.

But still there is no easy solution to the housing problem and its inevitable effect, at the moment, of continuing segregated groups. We must improve the conditions of social and domestic life in order that people may have the chance for that improvement which can make expansion into better areas possible. We are confronted with the greatest domestic challenge we have had — the establishment of social justice in adequately integrated communities.

Many say that the talking stage is over; now is the time for action, and action now and completely. It would be wonderful if assimilation or acculturation were something that could take place immediately. Indeed, we must do everything that is possible now to improve the status of the people in our core cities. But we must face the fact, harshly perhaps impressed upon all by human experience, that merely changing conditions by introducing works is no guarantee of assimilation. All cultural changes are the result of ideas, rather than of things, and, whether we like it or not, there is resistance to change that has to be overcome.

When different groups meet in a community, integration requires that one or the other attempt at least a partial assimilation. An adequately integrated community cannot exist or develop harmoniously with two significantly diverse groups, i.e., large numbers of lower-class groups and large numbers of middle-class peoples.

Either one or the other will try to assimilate the other, or one will solve the situation by withdrawing. Some of the lower-income people will return to former places if economic conditions worsen in the cities for them. Some will go to other cities, if more subsistence assistance is available. The middle-income groups will withdraw especially if the lower-income groups begin to move into middle-income areas.

If group conflict is to be solved, then an honest examination of conscience must be made by all the groups in conflict. Group centeredness or exclusiveness cannot be solved unless all groups concerned look at all the facts. In this area of human relations and social justice, ignorance of oneself as well as of others, unsubstantiated images of other groups created to justify one's own attitude of separation, half truths are not the premises from which one can conclude to an objective judgment. Groups in conflict or contact must sincerely admit the good and the bad in themselves.

In human relations there is no group that is completely right and another that is wholly wrong; one that has all the virtues, and the other all the vices. Neither militant resistance nor militant aggression can help us much; yet unfortunately there has been evidence enough of both. Somehow or other we must overcome the "we" and the "they" mentality. The strength of a community embracing many groups is not in avoidance of one another—that is impossible anyway, as well as unrealistic and defeatist; it would mean accepted division and hostility, which are destructive of community.

Early in our history we settled for cultural plurality in this country—new groups which came here were not expected to give up all their traditions and customs. But they were expected to assimilate, and they did, to form the strength of our communities. We cannot now go back on our history without betrayal. The issue now with regard to the less favored groups in our cities is not shall there be assimilation, but rather how best can it be accomplished and how soon.

This is a hard task, and there are no magic or easy formulas for achieving it. It requires the generous cooperation of all concerned, the dominant group and the less privileged groups. All must think in terms of the common good of the whole community, the well-being of the whole community, physical, social, cultural, and moral. All must give up their belief in old myths and refuse to create new ones.

The group numerically, educationally, politically, and economically stronger should try to assimilate the other groups. The stronger group may try to avoid this, but it must eventually dawn on them that they have most to lose by inaction and much to gain by assimilation. There is no alternative but to attempt to change some values, attitudes, and behavior patterns both of its own members and of the members of other groups.

The stronger group will have to change some of its ideas and patterns to be able better to understand the lesser groups. The stronger group must take the initiative in helping the lesser groups to shed some of their thornier traits. This will be the more easily effected if those of the lesser groups do not withdraw from their own people, as has been the tendency, when they attain middle-class status. All must count on a large reservoir of good will in others, and on a genuine desire to extend the benefits of our democratic way of life to all. If we cannot develop a mutual confidence and trust which makes collaboration possible, then who knows what the results may be?

Reflection on the problem indicates that there are two procedures to follow: education and assistance. When we consider the ways in which earlier the foreign-born and their families were assimilated into American life, we find these two means. It seems that the more important was education — the recognition that schooling was essential, and the presence of educational opportunities and agencies. Already Boston has distinguished itself in adult education programs and the Day School for Immigrants. I speak of adults at the moment because much of what we want to accomplish will depend upon parents and their interest. With them there is a great deal to be done to assist them in becoming more urbanized in their attitudes, in their values and aspirations, and in their daily behavior.

Many of these people are poor, some quite poor; in the past they knew little or nothing about comfort or convenience in material things. They grew up so often in relative illiteracy and rough surroundings, and so were not trained in the niceties of urban living. They have varying standards of education, health, sanitation. Most have had little formal education, and so have little background for employment in the industrialized city. If they get work, it is in the menial, unskilled, low-paying transient jobs that nobody else wants. Such background, I think, accounts for many of the prejudices and myths which have made common effort difficult. As there must be change in the assumptions and attitudes of the dominant group, so there must be change in the suspicions and attitudes of the lesser groups. And this calls for some kind of adult education.

In addition to basic schooling which would eliminate illiteracy and its consequent psychological companion of inferiority, it does seem that we must more vigorously pursue an education in urban living, and should not presume that, just by living in a city, people assume its more valuable attitudes. This is made even less possible by the very environment in which many of these people have to live.

You are aware of the problem of dropouts, and a moment's conversation with truant officers will discover that one of the most serious obstacles is the indifference of parents. Added to this is the broken home, disorganized and barely subsisting. We cannot assume that parents are interested in the education of their children. Oftentimes economic pressures are so severe that they look for financial assistance from their children as soon as they can begin to earn. Obviously dropouts reduce opportunities for better jobs. This is not appreciated in immediate stress, and so part of the formation of adults for urban living would be the development of the realization that better education and job opportunity are a fact of the industrial city, and that if they discourage the further education of their children they succeed only in perpetuating for another generation their own condition.

Later lectures will discuss the necessity and means for specialized education of these groups in order to prepare them to take their place among the dominant group on the same educational level; the need for greater attention and time for this particular condition. So I have nothing to say on that subject, except to indicate it as one of the problems accompanying the coming into cities of new peoples from less cultured and economically undeveloped areas.

To return to an idea insinuated in the beginning, essential for a genuine solution or alleviation of urban problems, as of all human problems, is that admirable virtue of compassion. In a complex society where services do have to be organized, our most effective and efficient response to the urgent demands of social justice are institutionalized. The socialization of so many services tends to depersonalize them. These institutionalized services do reduce the measure of personal involvment in the difficulties of people.

Most of those who have appraised the situation deeply are convinced that we shall find no solid or permanent solution to the unfortunate effects of urbanization if we do not develop a spirit of compassion for one another, a personal interest in others. Actually there is no other way to develop a strong community of human beings. Without this spirit of human solidarity and personal involvement, our urbanization will become an even more dehumanizing monster. The helper and the helped must be drawn together in understanding, in a person-to-person relationship which bespeaks a union of heart and mind—a spirit sorely lacking in urban areas now. Compassion cannot be learned by lectures. It can grow only out of practice; out of a deepening concern for our brethren of the human family.

Consequently, the people involved in bringing social justice and the hope of dignified living to others must develop this spirit. People should not be involved in this magnificently human task unless they have a developed understanding of the problems and their causes together with a persevering compassion for the less fortunate in our society.

This spirit has nothing to do with a patronizing attitude, which only antagonizes. Rather its inspiration is a love among people who are equal before God and the law, and love is essentially a sharing with others, a gift of self for the sake of others. If the present patterns of urbanization have resulted in dissolving the earlier sense of neighborhood and community in a feeling of isolation, loneliness, and relative helplessness, then the solution is to be found in what promotes community, a sense of belonging, a firm hope—and that is a love of people, manifest in a compassion that can suffer and sorrow with people and incite us to help, to comfort, to strengthen, to advance.

I am a better American myself the more I assist others to become better Americans with the means at their disposal to enjoy the benefits of this free society. I am a better human person the more personally I am involved in the lives of other persons with mutual understanding, regard, and assistance. Proficiency and efficiency in services are no substitute for this truly human effort. We have to be a compassionate society as well as a just society.

Preventive and Remedial Programs for the Disadvantaged Child

Catherine M. Maney

The subject for today treats a problem which is of vital local and national significance and which presents many challenges for all the major cities of the United States. The problem of the disadvantaged affects all parts of the nation, for in the great cities scattered throughout this land there reside concentrations of families whose children are severely hampered in their education by a complex of community, home, and school conditions.

Conant attacked these problems in his book, *Slums and Suburbs,* and pointed out the challenge to society and to educators when he said, "Social dynamite is building up in our large cities in the form of unemployed and out-of-school youth." The unemployment rate of youth between the ages of fourteen and twenty-one is twice that of the labor force as a whole and is even greater among the youth of the minority groups.

Cherished American values are at stake, and the economic well-being, the stability, and the security of the nation are undermined by the present waste of human potential. Many of the great cities, including Boston, have long been concerned with this problem.

Before we proceed any further, let me say that the terms "culturally deprived," "underprivileged," "disadvantaged," and "culturally different" are used synonymously by most writers and workers in this field. Emphasis today is perhaps on the use of the term "culturally different," because as Dr. Bernetta Washington said at the President's Conference on Juvenile Delinquency—"Culture means a set of values, and these people have their culture although it is not similar to ours."

The problem of the disadvantaged arises because their cultures are not compatible with modern life. Our nation faces a great challenge in giving all Americans a basis for living constructively and independently in a modern age. The requirement is not for conformity but for compatibility. It would be both impractical and inconsistent to make all people uniform. To give all people a fair chance to meet the challenges of life is both practical and American.

The schools face an exceedingly difficult challenge in educating culturally different children. Ideally, the family provides for the physical and emotional well-being of children and raises them to levels of understanding, expectation, and aspiration, which support the school's effort to promote intellectual growth. In the case of the disadvantaged child, these foundations are missing. However, more can be done in our classrooms to solve this local problem than can be done in any other place or in any other way. The challenge to meet the need belongs to all of us.

What are the characteristics of the culturally different? Let us review them together. In general these people are:

Newcomers to the city who have had limited opportunities for intellectual, social, aesthetic, and physical development:

Not-so-new residents of the city who are oblivious to the opportunities which surround them.

Residents of the city who have rejected the opportunities afforded them due to feelings of insecurity, lack of family encouragement, or poor aspiration.

The classroom teacher notes the following characteristics:

Lack of response to conventional approaches.

Poor communication skills, and unacceptable behavior.

Indifference, lack of purpose, poor health habits.

Exaggerated importance of status symbols.

This child is often overage for the grade; his school attendance is poor; he has a high rate of failure; and he has a high dropout rate. His aspiration level is low; he is without kindergarten experience; he has low achievement in reading and arithmetic. Frequently, this child has had not cultural experiences. He has never been to a museum, public library, concert, or zoo.

The families of these children for the most part live in low-cost public housing, or in overcrowded, substandard multiple dwellings of every type. The parents are unskilled and in the low-income bracket. They are not always against education but have very little or no formal education themselves.

The majority of the children in the culturally different areas have normal intelligence. The disadvantaged child often has ability levels which indicate that he could perform well if the school could reach him. He does not realize his potential because the typical school cannot compensate for the deprivations which exist in the lives of these children. The school must provide those reinforcements which are normally provided for each child by his family and environment, and the school is not structured or oriented to do this unless special compensatory programs are introduced.

The needs of culturally deprived children are many faceted, and, since these children differ from each other as do the youth of any group, the needs of all of them are not the same. While the special needs of culturally deprived children may differ from those of other children, they have the same basic needs that all youth do, although to a different degree.

It is important to identify the specific needs of the culturally deprived and to provide constructive programs to help satisfy them. Informed school personnel who have experience and knowledge of the background of the culturally deprived and who understand their cultural patterns can create the sympathetic climate which tends to achieve successful orientation.

The fifteen cities involved in the Great Cities School Improvement Program face a challenging problem in working with the culturally deprived persons in their areas. The schools of these great cities feel that the magnitude of the problem and its rate of acceleration are such that a solution can be found only through the concerted action made possible by joint effort. Superintendents and school boards have been quick to see the advantages of a cooperative and coordinated approach.

Because all of the great cities are working together and because there is a great deal of intercommunication, one finds that similar projects have been established in many of these cities. However, no two projects are identical; the human element involved causes changes to be made in the structure and design of the program as it grows.

Most programs include in-service training and workshop experience for the teachers involved in the problem of educating the culturally different—to enable teachers the better to meet the challenge of working in depressed areas. Detroit, for example, has had teacher workshops, in-service experiences, and teacher committees to make the curriculum changes necessary for the disadvantaged. The purpose of this training was to improve the teacher's perceptions as the perceptions related to the child, the community, and the curriculum. The Higher Horizons Project in New York felt the need of a teacher-training program because of the high rate of turnover in the target areas. New York now has developed a teacher-training program with Hunter College.

It is the purpose of this plan to give students who will work in the disadvantaged areas the background necessary to understand the culturally different, as well as the skills and techniques necessary for successful teaching in the disadvantaged area.

No one will deny, I am sure, that the heart of the educational process is found in the skill, dedication, and personality of the teacher. In the disadvantaged or culturally different areas of the city of Boston are found some of the best, some of the superior teachers of the system. These teachers have given years of dedicated service in their offerts to educate children in the areas. They have been hampered by class numbers that have been far too large, by a mobile population which means large numbers of admissions and discharges, by parental and community indifference, by excessive absences on the part of the children, and by the deficiencies in the child's background, which foretell his failure on the primary level. Their job has been and is made more difficult by the complexity of the problems which the child brings to school.

There has been comparatively little turnover in the culturally deprived areas among teachers or principals—even though teaching is easier in other parts of the city. The continuing increase in numbers of pupils has required the assignment of temporary and new teachers. Because they have continually demonstrated understanding and sympathy, which are necessary in all areas, but particularly here, these teachers have been successful. Despite all the handicaps and obstructions, these teachers have succeeded in their efforts to educate the underprivileged child, taking him at the point where they found him, and proceeding as far as it was humanly possible to go. We sometimes forget that teacher influence lasts only five and one-half hours while the home and the community exert a much greater impact upon the youngster because they have him for a much longer time, and frequently undo what has been done during the school day.

All of you will be involved in the new programs in one way or another—either in experimental or control schools. The success of the new programs depends in large measure upon you, the core of experienced teachers who have been working in the areas, and who have the resources and knowledge so badly needed.

The administration has openly stated its belief in the excellence of the teachers working in the disadvantaged areas. Both Superintendent William H. Ohrenberger and Deputy Superintendent Marguerite G. Sullivan have said, time and time again, that the teachers in the target area are excellent. From my experience, I would agree—only adding, perhaps, that they have to be superior, and that Boston is most fortunate to have them.

In the past, too little attention has been paid to the necessity for raising the self-image of teachers as well as the self-image of pupils. A number of books and articles seem to ascribe major responsibility for the poor achievement of students to their teachers, almost as if the teachers were deliberately preventing children from learning.

Jacob Landers, director of the Higher Horizons Program in New York City, maintains that all teachers wish to be successful, just as all human beings wish to be successful. The basic condition for teacher satisfaction and teacher growth is the feeling of achievement which results when children succeed. Higher Horizons teachers in New York have successfully demonstrated this fact just as Boston teachers have proved and are proving it every day.

The report of the White House Conference on Children and Youth—Implications for Elementary Education, 1961, states that "respect for the teacher as a person and professional leader, respect for superior work, and encouragement of creative teaching contribute to the teacher's stature and effectiveness; and they also contribute to the maintenance of a happy and efficient staff."

Newcomers to the disadvantaged areas are receiving preservice and inservice training. All teachers in the demonstration programs are now participating and will participate in this training because it is a definite part of the design for the project.

Distinctions have been made between practices which are primarily preventive and developmental and those which are essentially compensatory and remedial. At the junior high or high school level, academic retardation may be so great that programs must be remedial to compensate for past school failures. With the younger child of nursery, kindergarten, or primary school age, the measures are more apt to be preventive in nature, designed to prepare the pupil for school achievement, and the avoidance of remedial procedures later.

Preventive programs imply modifications and adaptations of programs and services to help the child hurdle his educational handicaps, cultural limitations, short attention span, underdeveloped cognitive skills, lack of motivation for academic success and, similar deprivations that hinder a child's scholastic development. Unless steps are taken to compensate for these shortcomings, retardation and failure inevitably will give rise to a demand for remedial projects. Because success in reading and other language arts constitutes the key to academic progress, most programs stress methods, materials, special personnel, audio-visual and guidance services.

Remedial services have many different aspects. Most familiar is remedial reading instruction for pupils who lack facility in this field. Reading clinics have been established in some systems for the diagnosis and treatment of severe reading disabilities. Special service personnel of many different kinds may work either with children or the classroom teachers.

New York City, for example, assigns to schools in depressed areas teacher-specialists in remedial reading, science, mathematics, and core curriculum, as well as guidance specialists, teacher trainers, Puerto Rican coordinators, behavior attendance counselors, and substitute auxiliary teachers. Dade County, Florida, employs as a team a certificated American teacher and two bilingual Cuban-refugee teacher-aides to work with about sixty Cuban-born youngsters whose English is too limited for the regular classroom. New Haven has appointed "helping teachers" to work with other teachers in the development of materials and methods of instruction. All of these programs are designed to illustrate how supplementary personnel can aid in upgrading reading achievement by improved instruction and remedial assistance.

The Quincy, Illinois, program of enrichment in the primary grades is essentially preventive. It seeks to determine whether more time with a single teacher (the child would be with this teacher for two or three years), an extended kindergarten day, and work with parents will make a difference, especially in reading, and in attitudes toward school. It is hoped that such a program will reduce the number and severity of behavioral problems before they become delinquency. Many children see themselves as failures—thanks to early defeat in school. Lethargy, negative self-image, and loneliness patterns lead to further failure, and eventually to hostility, escapism, and aggression as the child grows older. At the kindergarten-primary level, the problems are perceived as lack of those experiential learnings which contribute to the background a child needs for success in school. It is supposed that providing reinforcements to overcome the deficiencies in background and training may avoid the need for remedial services later.

The Boston Public Schools and Action for Boston Community Development, Incorporated, have selected four programs to assist the disadvantaged child. Three of these are actually in the initial stage of operation, and the fourth will start within a month. The four areas which seemed the most necessary, and also the most promising of results, are: the prekindergarten program, developmental reading, guidance, and pupil adjustment counseling.

The prekindergarten classes will be established in the South End and in the Roxbury areas. The specific objective of the program is to attain for the culturally different child the cognitive skills and behavior patterns which are generally determined to be normal and adequate for children of his age—with, of course, due consideration being given to individual differences. It is assumed that this program will make it possible for the culturally deprived child to cope more effectively with the demands of education in the lower elementary grades and as a result will increase his opportunities to develop to his full potential.

Since it is assumed that parental involvement in the child's learning experience is necessary—if the program is to succeed—it is planned to devote a substantial amount of staff time to direct contact and communication with parents. The other great cities that have instituted a prekindergarten program have also insisted on parental involvement in the project.

A selected group of children will be offered a half-day experience in a prekindergarten setting for a period of one school year. Four groups of twenty children each will be chosen in the 3.5–4.5 range. Children will be selected mainly from families where older brothers and sisters were known to the public school. Additional resources for selection are the private social agencies and the Aid to Dependent Children Division of the Department of Public Welfare.

One senior teacher will be assigned to each of the four classes, and two teaching assistants. Senior teachers will conduct two-hour classes, five days a week, and will devote the balance of the week to making contact with the parents and making home visitations.

Since this is an experimental program, there will be intensive and continuous teacher-training. Few of the other great cities have adopted this particular preventive program; but many have already asked for information. Because the senior teachers will be working actively with parents, consultants in the field of child welfare will provide information relative to parental background and aspirations. Consultants in the fields of art and music will participate, too, in the training phase of the operation.

This program will be similar in some respects to the traditional nursery school, but because of its specifically defined goals will place major importance on encouraging children in the development of skills required for successful adaptation to the kindergarten and the first grade. Emphasis will be on the development of "verbal" skills, on auditory and visual discrimination skills, on motor coordination and a sense of rhythm and timing. The tools and techniques to be used are aimed at increasing the child's cognitive skills and capacity for conceptual thinking.

It is recognized that the stimulus toward better achievement provided by the program may not give sufficient motivation to guarantee the child's continued success in school. Indeed, unless the parents are involved, and unless sufficient impact is made upon the parents of these children—an impact that influences the way they feel or act toward education—the child will ultimately be caught up in a conflict of values not of his own making.

The Developmental Reading Program which will be introduced in February in three elementary districts and three junior high schools differs from the reading programs adopted by the other great cities, because this is a developmental program, while the others are remedial in intent.

A reading program has been adopted in a number of the great cities because of the studies which have been made relating reading disability and delinquency. Lidde of Chicago, however, warns that an inability to read does not necessarily lead to delinquency.

For many years, social scientists have been studying the relationship between psychosocial adjustment and the reading process. Twenty-five years ago Gates, Hardwick, and Munroe were writing on the connection between failure in reading and social adjustment. There is a general agreement that failure in reading has a profound influence on personality adjustment, and that reading difficulties must be considered along with the child's personality adjustment and his attitude toward the reading experience.

In the selected experimental schools in Boston Grades V, VI, and VII will be involved this year. In the control schools the same grades will be involved. Classes will be grouped according to reading ability.

It is intended to provide an instructional program which will stimulate the child's interest in reading, motivate him to greater academic achievement, and foster desirable growths in the basic reading skills and abilities. Hopefully, the aims of the program will be accomplished by using teaching procedures that are rich, varied, and intellectually energetic; by grouping children homogeneously according to reading ability to ensure success and satisfaction for each one; and by making a continuous appraisal of each child's particular teaching needs and of his progress in reading.

Educational materials have been selected because of their proven appeal to children whose attention span in academic work is short, whose feelings of failure and frustration are strong, and in whom self-motivation is lacking. It is hoped that the wide variety of materials to be used will stimulate interaction and activity. Lessons will be structured to engage the child's attention, to excite and maintain his interest, to provide individualized instruction, and to develop the child's reading potential to its capacity.

Since the children are motor-minded, or motor-oriented, machines such as the Controlled Reader and the Tach-X will be used. Riesmann in the *Culturally Deprived Child* advocates the increased utilization of machines and programmed learning for deprived children, especially for "slow learners." Elementary classes will have one forty-minute reading period in the morning, and one thirty-minute period in the afternoon. Junior high school classes will have one period of reading per day. These programs will use reading consultants working closely with the classroom teachers to develop successful methods for teaching the culturally different child to read.

In addition, the consultants will also meet with a group of fifteen to twenty of the ablest students for an enrichment program in literature. These pupils will be selected by the grade teachers on the basis of general academic performance, success in reading as demonstrated by the reading ing achievement tests, and consideration of the I.Q. or I.R. scores. The consultants will meet with these children for a forty-minute period once a week to discuss an outstanding book which the child is to have read during the week.

The consultants of the Developmental Reading Program will have overall charge of the program. Testing, group formation, program planning, and schedule making for the use of machines will all be their responsibility, subject to the approval of the principal of the school or district.

It is hypothesized that improved reading ability will bring success in other subject areas and thereby reduce the incidence of failure and of achool dropouts.

The Pupil Adjustment Counseling Program is in the initial stage at this time. As in all of the demonstration programs, the adjustment counselors must go through a preservice training program, as well as in-service training.

There are four full-time pupil adjustment counselors who have been appointed at the elementary and junior high levels: three to elementary schools, and the other to a junior high school to provide services to youngsters from kindergarten through Grade IX who manifest emotional, behavioral, or environmental problems or anti-social attitudes in the school setting.

Since these counselors will have limited case loads under controlled conditions, they should be able to help more effectively those children whose problems seriously affect their learning capacities and abilities, and so are likely to become school failures and dropouts. The adjustment counselor will work with the school personnel, the home, social welfare agencies, and other organizations outside the school system. It is assumed that the counselor will succeed in increasing the potential for coordination of all those services needed in dealing with emotional and behavioral difficulties in children.

The objectives of this program are twofold: first, to improve the school performance and behavior of children who have problems which get in the way of the learning process, and, secondly, to reduce delinquent behavior and truancy among children so identified.

The Guidance Program has already been launched. Three advisors have been appointed to the Lewis School, one per grade, and one guidance advisor to the Howe Elementary District.

A lower proportion of youngsters in the target areas of Roxbury, South End, and Charlestown—as compared with the more advantaged parts of the city—acquire the education and skill necessary to obtain the desirable and more remunerative positions ordinarily available. In fact, many disadvantaged children see no connection at all between school experience and the world of work.

And it is so very necessary, so extremely important, that the culturally different child be made aware of this dependent relationship. Actually education is the cornerstone upon which he builds the rest of his life. If he understands this, he is likely to become self-motivated, and therein lies the seed of success.

Spelled out, the three major goals of the program are: to reduce the failure rate by improving academic performance among students in selected schools; secondly, to reduce the proportion of youngsters who later drop out of school; and, finally, to cut down the proportion of students who are dropouts and unemployed.

The programs just described are new, but the Boston Public Schools have had remedial and preventive programs which have been developed by the administration alone, e.g., the Junior First Grade was originally organized in the Hyde District more than ten years ago for the child who was socially and emotionally immature. This is a readiness class which is a half-step between kindergarten and Grade I. The program develops verbal skills, auditory discrimination, visual discrimination, motor coordination, and proper school attitudes. Because the organization of the grade is a fluid one, the child may be moved into the regular first grade whenever he is ready.

This program has been incorporated into the Higginson District Pilot Program as part of Operation Counterpoise. This program got under way in September of this year, and, although only four months have passed, it has already demonstrated its value.

Counterpoise is both a preventive and a remedial program since it seeks to identify deficiencies in the very young (Junior Grade I) and to provide also the compensatory education necessary if the fourth-grade child is not to experience again frustration and defeat—Operation Recap. The Junior Grade IV is an attempt to provide a successful school experience for youngsters who have already failed once, but who are normal learners and, at the same time, poor readers. Emphasis is placed upon a strong language arts and mathematics program. The regular time allotment is not required for this grade.

The first and second grades in the Higginson District have a new reading program which approaches the teaching of reading by teaching phonics at the outset of the program. Basal readers are used after certain phonetic principles have been acquired and mastered. It is intended to have this program move up one grade each year to the end that each child may attain a superior mastery of all the reading skills.

Operation Counterpoise provides for a special research assistant who is assigned full time to the district, and, since the Higginson is an experimental school, it also has a full-time pupil adjustment counselor. A remedial reading teacher, two consultants, and a special art teacher complete the roster of special personnel assigned to help the child in this district achieve his full potential.

Team leaders have been designated in each building to assist in the direction, coordination, and supervision of this program. Each master teacher works as a team leader with a specific group of teachers. This teacher teaches his own reading and mathematics, but a building asistant takes over the program for the rest of the day.

The team leader assists in the orientation and training of new teachers, discussion of mutual problems relating to instruction or behavior, checks attendance and tardiness. The team leader is further charged with the responsibility of maintaining the best order and discipline, so that the educational process may be a continuous, efficient, and profitable one for all the youngsters in her group.

This program was designed to inspire standards of excellence which would stimulate the desire for further education, to improve children's attitudes toward school, and to remedy undesirable situations in their incipiency. It is assumed that with smaller classes, and the cooperation of the special personnel, this program will enable each child to reach his full potential.

This program, like the Higher Horizons Program in New York City, provides for cultural enrichment as a part of the total project. The guidance, pupil adjustment counseling, and instructional programs are reinforced by a wealth of cultural experience. For the disadvantaged child, such activities as trips are not merely fringe benefits, but an integral part of the total program. In this area the school must provide the basic experiences which are usually considered to be in the province of the home. Most of these children have had little or no opportunity to participate in cultural activities which are an integral part of the everyday experience of those in more favored communities. Many parents rarely have the time, money, knowledge, and background to provide similar experiences for their children. An important outcome of this program is that children become more articulate.

These are the programs which are already in effect, or it is hoped will be active within a month. There are four other definite "school programs" which have been planned to start in September, 1964.

The first of these is the Work-Study Program, a preventive program aimed at reducing the incidence of dropouts among children whose dropout potential is recognized early. Pupils at the junior and senior high level who manifest the behavior characteristics of the typical dropout will be given a dropout profile, aptitude test.

Placement in the Work-Study Program is determined by a consultation with the principal, guidance advisor, and parents. The program places less emphasis on academic education than upon on-the-job training. The pupil spends half his day in the classroom, and the rest of the day in an employment setting which stresses training as well as production. A teacher-coordinator will be appointed to develop the training employment phase of the program in cooperation with the Retail Board of Trade, Chamber of Commerce, and other agencies.

A Tutoring Program is to be established also. The purpose of the program is to increase the individual's skill as a student. It is assumed that youngsters who are achieving below grade level can be helped to raise their achievement if they receive help in addition to classroom teaching. Skilled teachers will be used to supervise the tutors in methods and materials being used in the classrooms.

A third program called Ability Identification and Development is designed to help the child explore his interests and talents, and to give him opportunities for developing them.

The final project is the Home-School Liaison Program designed to strengthen parent-teacher communication and cooperation.

Preventive and remedial programs for the disadvantaged child have been developed by the Boston Public Schools alone, and by the schools in cooperation with Action for Boston Community Development. A research design has been structured for each program as an evaluation instrument.

However, unless the family, the church, and the community become involved in these projects, unless they reinforce the work of the school, much of the impact and the stimulus will be lost for the child. There must be four-way cooperation if each child is to have a fair chance to meet the challenges of life.

The problem has been faced, and the schools are doing something positive about educating the disadvantaged child. No effort will be spared in Boston to give each child the special services and compensatory education necessary for the development of his potential, and thereby to assist him to fill that place in society to which he is entitled by his abilities and energy.

The Street and the School in Disadvantaged Areas

Robert A. Feldmesser

Let me begin by saying, contrary to the manner of most speakers, that I am sorry to be here—sorry because we are all here due to the existence of a problem that we all wish didn't exist. Yet here it is, and I think all of us feel an obligation to try to do something about it; and I hope that I can make some contribution to its solution. Vast and complicated as this problem is, we cannot turn aside from it. It is, I would say, this country's most serious domestic problem: the education, or rather the non-education, of the lower classes.

Statistically, the problem can be stated simply: About 40 per cent of our children of high-school age fail to finish high school. That is the national average. In what are now often referred to as the "disadvantaged areas," and particularly among our Negro population (and these two are often the same thing), the proportion runs much higher. The consequences do not have to be belabored. Conant has referred to these consequences as the building of a pile of "social dynamite" in the middle of our large cities—young men and women out of school and out of work, with a bleak future, nothing to look forward to, nothing to do.

Yet I think that focussing on the dropout problem itself oversimplifies the problem. It may be the case that not all children should remain in school until they complete the twelfth grade. It might be in the best interest of some of them to leave before they finish—to get whatever job they can and to derive such satisfaction as they are able to from life. It is true that with the changing nature of our occupational structure, of our labor market, the number of such children is becoming smaller and smaller. It is becoming harder and harder to get some kind of satisfying job or income without at least a high-school education, and for many jobs the educational requirements are growing even larger.

Even aside from that, though, there are certainly many children who leave school who by any criterion ought not to, who should be able to finish high school—who in many cases ought to go on to college. Merely forcing them to remain in school for a couple of more years is not the whole answer. If it were, all we would have to do is raise the school-leaving age to eighteen (which might not be a bad idea). But their physical presence in school is, of course, not what is meaningful. It is what they get from school, what they learn while they are there, that does—or at least should—make the difference.

The point is that each child ought to get from school what he needs. If he needs to stay until high-school graduation, he ought to be able to stay. If he needs to leave, he ought to be able to do that, too. But the decision to leave or to stay ought to be a voluntary one and a conscious one. It should be based on full information—on the careful consideration of all the alternatives that are available and a weighing of the best interests of the child's own welfare as nearly as we can determine it.

I will grant that it is by no means an easy task to determine just what is in any given child's interests, and that leads me to a point that I shall call to your attention, although I won't say much more about it. In one sense there is no dropout problem; there are just dropout problems. Each child is a unique case. The history of each dropout is a long and complicated psychodynamic process that is never identical for any two children. The details of this process are something that I have neither the time nor the competence to go into. But whatever the specific reasons may be, when many dropouts occur among the same kind of children or in the same kind of area, or in the same sorts of schools—this becomes what the lawyers call "evidence of system." It becomes an indication that there are some general forces at work which tend to produce this problem, even though their manifestations in any one child may be unique. It is these system characteristics that are, properly speaking, the sociologists' concern, and that I would like to say something, the sociologists' concern, and that I would like to say something about. How can we understand the dropout in terms of the general social forces that are at work in this society? Of course, as you know, Boston is not the only area wrestling with this problem.

The source of this system-problem is not hard to discern, and I dare say it is well known to many of you. It is what the sociologist would call a "culture conflict." (I use the word "culture" here simply to refer to the way of life, the beliefs, the habits, the customs of a group of people.) When two groups of pople see things differently, it is hard for them to get along—a truism if I ever heard one! How do they meet this problem? One solution, of course, is violence—they fight with each other, and this is a "solution" adopted in many culture conflicts, including, in some cases, the one that we are talking about.

Another kind of solution frequently adopted is to separate the two cultures—to erect a partition between them, like the wall in Berlin, which separates two cultures. Similarly, the Hindus and Moslems in British India decided to separate because they couldn't get along. Suggestions have been made that the Greek and Turkish Cypriotes partition the island of Cyprus, because they can't get along peaceably; they just see things too differently.

Dropping out of school, I submit to you, is a way of erecting a partition between two cultures—or, as I would prefer to say, two subcultures—because both of these cultures are part of a larger society (that is an important point that I will return to later). The nonlearner, the dropout, separates himself from the school physically, psychologically, and socially, because it is the only way he can come to terms with it. The only way he can survive, we might say, is by removing himself from the field of battle. I say he separates himself, but as is usually the case in culture clashes, some responsibility for this outcome lies on both sides—and that, too, is a point I would like to come back to in a little while.

What are these two subcultures I am talking about? I think they are familiar enough to all of you. On the one hand, we have what is generally called the "middle-class" subculture. It I had to use a single phrase to describe this culture, I would call if "future-oriented." The people in the middle-class subculture plan an occupational career; indeed, they try to plan their whole lives. Activity is perceived as a means toward an end—a means of going on to something else. The job is, of course, the central part of this life-planning. The family and one's choice of friends and what kind of home you have and what you do in it—these, too, are devoted to the planning of a life.

The middle-class person restrains his momentary impulses for the sake of receiving future gratifications. He knows, or at least he strongly believes, that if he waits a while, if he does not do merely what he feels like doing at the moment, the payoff later on will be much greater. For most of the people in this subculture the payoff comes in the form of a well-paying occupation and an interesting one, in the form of more or less steady employment, in the form of high status, or leadership in their own community, in the form of political power, direct or indirect—to put it most generally, in the form of control over their fate. They know pretty much where they are going, they know how to get there, and they do get there. That indeed is what makes this whole subculture pattern possible. It is reinforced by the fact that, by behaving according to the pattern, you realize the goal that you set out to achieve.

This is our subculture, yours and mine. It is the subculture that, for the most part, we live in, and so it is natural enough that the school is part of that subculture, too. We shape the schools in our image. Teachers, principals, administrators, are all what the sociologist would call "middle-class people." We teach the kinds of things that we think are important. We establish the kinds of classroom customs that we think are right and good and proper, if not natural, obvious, necessary, and the only humanly decent things to do.

So it is easy to understand that, when a child from the middle-class subculture comes to our schools, it is a familiar place to him. He accepts it, he understands its importance, he already knows a good deal about what its rules are. He adapts to the school pretty easily. He is willing to follow instructions; he is interested in the things we are interested in. He does well in school. He is satisfied by a teacher's praise and by his parents' praise for doing well. He stays in school and he is graduated and often he even goes on to college and then begins the re-creation of the same pattern. He has found that by restraining his impulses in school, by planning ahead, by taking some concern for what will happen in school next year and the year after, and about getting into college, about the kinds of jobs he will have by taking this kind of concern, he is able to get to college and to get a good job and to get the kinds of rewards that go with it. He is satisfied with the pattern, and he in turn transmits it to his children, and the cycle begins all over again.

On the other hand, we have what sociologists call the "lower-class" subculture. I hope you understand that I am using "lower-class" simply as a descriptive term; I am not making a moral judgment about this subculture. It is the way of life of this subculture that characterizes what is increasingly coming to be called the "culturally deprived" child—which is, by the way, an interesting middle-class term. For this child is not deprived of culture; he is deprived only of our culture, and so we say that he is culturally deprived. But he has his own subculture.

If the middle-class subculture is future-oriented, the lower-class person's subculture is present-oriented. He values activity not as a means toward an end but for the satisfaction that the activity brings. He therefore believes in yielding to impulse, doing what he feels like doing if he will enjoy it. If you are a lower-class person, you do not take concern for long-run consequences. You do not plan for a career. You are not worried about the things that the teacher is worried about, like orderliness in the classroom, which is a restraint upon impulse, or like punctuality, or politeness. You don't have to worry about being nice to other people because it isn't going to make any difference, anyway. Your family life is treated in somewhat the same way—if you enjoy it, you stay with it; if you don't, you leave; and this applies often to children as well as parents. It is an unstable kind of life, with husband or father frequently absent and children not too closely supervised. The home does not provide the kind of facilities that it provides to the middle-class child. The father's occupation being a low-paid one (and sometimes he is unemployed altogether), housing is apt to be rather poor. The home is crowded, there is little space for play, little light or quiet for study, and so there is a tendency to leave the home and to find friends elsewhere—to get out on the street, perhaps, where there is a little more room.

The parents in this subculture do not feel any control over their own destinies. On the contrary, they frequently speak of "fate" as something mysterious. They tend to have a kind of fatalistic attitude toward life. What is going to happen is going to happen, so why bother to make plans and to save? These things are pretty difficult to do, anyway, and you are pretty sure that they are not going to do you any good, so why bother? It makes life so much easier just to resign yourself to whatever comes your way—an attitude to which we give the name of "low aspiration level."

This is the way we look at this subculture. I think it is important, though, to recognize that the lower-class person also has his picture of us. Finding himself in a situation that, in many respects, is not enjoyable, he works out for himself a view of the middle class that makes his situation more tolerable. He says, in effect, "I am not in the middle class, but I would not want to be there, anyway, because it isn't a very pleasant way of life." Let me try to give you the picture of the middle class that a great many lower-class people have, to judge from the findings of a number of studies.

Here is what the lower-class person says about us—you and me. We are crass and calculating, so concerned with getting ahead that we have no time for fun. We are strictly out for ourselves; we have no loyalties to anyone else—to any groups, to our own families, even. Our personal relationships are insincere. They are means to our own ends. We pick up friends when we think they will be useful; we drop them when they are not. We constantly have to watch what we say and do, and we are so scared of our bosses that we bring our work home at night so that we can put more time in on the job. We are snobs and sissies; we are stuffy and we are prissy, and we could not defend ourselves in a fight. We are merciless toward the lower class. We preach phony values to them that have no meaning in their lives and that we do not even practice ourselves. We say we want to help them, but we find all kinds of reasons for not doing it, or we make them go through hell to get it. We gouge them for every nickel we can get. We cheat them and lie to them, and yet we tell them that their problems are their own fault. Meanwhile, we interfere with the only enjoyable things they can afford—sexual exploration, fighting, gambling, drinking, or just hanging around.

Is this picture so far from the truth? I would suggest that perhaps it is not. There are kernels of truth in it; even if perhaps they are exaggerated in some respects, they are probably minimized in other respects. But its truth value, in any event, is not the main point.

The main point is that this is the picture of our subculture that the lower-class child comes to school with.

This is the way in which he sees his teacher; this is the way in which our subculture has been interpreted to him by his parents. It seems to me small wonder that he does not like the school, that he resents his teachers, that he finds the whole business boring, unnecessary, irrelevant to his life. He does not do well and he gets out as soon as he can. The miracle to me is that as many of them stay as do.

Frequently enough, dropping out of school is rationalized on economic grounds. "My family needs my help," or "I would like to earn a little spending money," or "They can't afford to keep me in school." I suspect that often the economic reason is given because the child thinks it is the only one we would understand. Studies of dropouts, and interviews with them, show that it is primarily a rationalization. These children leave school, psychologically, if not physically, because they find it an intolerable situation; they just cannot stand to be there. They are escaping something they don't like, not going to something they do like.

And let's face one other fact: Lots of us are glad to see them go. Lots of teachers, lots of school administrators and other persons involved, are only too happy to see the dropout leave. He has not been learning anything, anyway; he has been making a lot of trouble for everybody else as well as for us. It is so much quieter when he is gone, and then the other children have a chance. Indeed, many teachers, we know, don't like to be in schools serving lower-class areas at all. Like the dropout, they, too, get out as soon as they can. If possible, teachers will escape to a middle-class area, where they find the children more compatible.

For the child who drops out, and who hasn't learned much while he was in school, the consequences are easily predictable. Lack of education means he is not likely to get a very good job or to remain steadily employed; his future is rather bleak. So he has little control over what does happen to him later on, and thus his belief has been confirmed. He was right. He doesn't have much control, and there was no point in planning for the future. So here, too, the situation is re-created. He conveys this experience to his children, and the cycle starts all over again for them.

This sounds like a pretty knotty problem, and it is. It is in the truest sense a vicious circle. There is a great deal about it that the schools themselves cannot do anything about, and I think it is well to keep that in mind. Just because it is a vicious circle, everybody can quite truthfully blame somebody else. The schools say, "It is not our fault—it is the training these children get in their families. If they don't come to us with the proper family background, there is not much we can do." The families say, "It's not our fault—it's because we don't have good housing, and cannot find decent jobs." The people in the housing industry say, "It's not our fault that these people do not earn enough to buy decent housing. You cannot expect us to give them housing for nothing. You have got to find employment for them." The employers say, "You cannot expect us to hire them without a decent education. It is the school's fault." And we are right back where we started. All of these arguments are correct. No one sector of the society bears the entire responsibility for creating this situation or for remedying it.

But, by the same token, no one sector of the society can evade its responsibility for doing whatever it can about it—and every sector of the society can do something. The task for all of us is not to allocate the blame but to join together in efforts to lick the problem. Instead of waiting for somebody else to take action, each of us should set an example that others will be impelled to follow. I would like to make some suggestions about what the schools can do in meeting this problem of culture conflict.

Before I do that, though, I have to clear up a few other points. To many of us in the schools, it seems as though the lower-class person, far from wanting to change his position, actually and positively prefers it. It's an inexpensive sort of life, he may say, easy to come by and demanding no great exertion. There is lots of activity, lots of excitement, plenty of variety in the kinds of people you meet. Human relationships tend to be cooperative rather than cutthroat. A person in a so-called "disadvantaged" area can almost always find someone to help him out when he is in a tough spot, and the other fellow knows that the favor will be repaid. You do not have to "plan your contacts"; you do not have to bring your work home with you at night; you certainly do not get ulcers worrying about the future. You enjoy life as it comes. Your home is not a place where you carry out your career stategy; it's a place where you relax with your family and your friends. This in in one sense an appealing picture, and I do not doubt that for some people it is indeed satisfying, and we ought not to deprive them of that kind of life if they would like it. Nevertheless, there are some serious qualifications to be made to this notion.

In the first place, a good deal of this "idyllic" picture of lower-class living is almost certainly rationalization. Just as the members of the lower class have discovered all the defects and dissatisfactions in the middle-class subculture, and emphasized them to make themselves feel better about not being in it, so also they may have emphasized such satisfactions as there are to be had from lower-class life in order to convince themselves that it's not so bad, after all.

Secondly, we must remember that there are a great many people in the lower class who have precious little opportunity to decide which class they want to be in. I have in mind particularly, of course, the Negro population. Discrimination keeps most of them in the lower class whether they like it or not. In *Slums and Suburbs* Conant refers to a survey of Negro boys between the ages of sixteen and twenty-one which was taken in one large city, and which found that 63 per cent of those who had not graduated from high school were unemployed—and so were 48 per cent of those who had graduated from high school. To the Negro youth that may not seem like much of a difference. Is it really worth all of that agony in school to improve your chances of getting a job by 15 per cent? The feeling of hopelessness is here quite justifiable, and we can hardly begrudge any rationalization that makes it a little more bearable. The problem of our Negro population is, to a large extent, the problem of the lower class magnified and intensified many times by overt and formal and sometimes covert and subtle discrimination. If we can do something about the Negro, we can do something about the lower class generally.

These qualifications can be summarized by reminding ourselves that the lower class is, as I mentioned before, a subculture. It is not a self-contained society which has nothing to do with the rest of us. Both the middle class and the lower class are parts of a larger society, which we call the United States. Both classes, therefore, share some goals, some beliefs about what is right and what is wrong, what is good and what is bad. As I have already said, children who, as we see it, drop out of school, themselves tend to feel pushed out. It is not that they are seeking something that they think is better; rather, they are avoiding something that has been made intolerable. But this suggests that, given a chance to stay—given, that is, a reasonably satisfying school situation—they would stay.

The evidence that we have indicates that this is indeed the case. One good example is the Higher Horizons Program that I am sure you are all familiar with, and similar programs that are going on elsewhere in the country that show that when a child from the lower classes is given a decent chance—is given a little help to stay in school—he is eager to take advantage of the opportunity. Two of the values that are shared by the middle class and the lower class, despite all appearances, are the value of education and the value of improved material conditions (and the two are pretty closely linked).

What we need to do, then, is to try to give the lower-class child a chance to make a choice. I don't think we ought to insist that everyone in the lower class become a member of the middle class. There are lots of reasons (and I have mentioned some) why this might not be the world's best way of living, but at least the child ought to have the opportunity to choose — to examine the subcultures and to gain access to the one that he feels is most congenial to his own beliefs.

Now, what can the schools do? A good deal of the contribution of the school has to be in the form of intensive work with individual children, as in the Higher Horizons and similar programs. As I have said before, each child is a unique instance, and we cannot prescribe general remedies that will help all children. But, as a sociologist, I do think we can find some "structural" solutions—that is, some programs that we can put into effect that will help at least large numbers of children.

The main target that we must hit is the feeling of hopelessness in the lower-class subculture, the apathy, the indifference toward what the middle class represents. The middle class, like it or not, does represent the best of what this society stands for in terms of culture with a capital "C," in terms of education, and so on. I do not think I have to persuade you that it is a more enjoyable kind of life, more satisfying, and in some ultimate moral sense a better kind of life—at least for us. But we have this clash between the cultures which engenders in the lower-class child a feeling of hopelessness, a feeling that there is not much he can do about it, that he does not have any way of getting into the middle-class subculture even if he wants to, and therefore he resents its very existence, resents its efforts to impose itself upon him, to make him do things that he does not like to do.

I would like to suggest four general categories of measures that might be taken. First of all, of course, and in the long run the most important, is to change the situation that gives rise to the feeling of hopelessness, and this involves a number of things. A major aspect here is an end to discrimination and segregation, a recognition that the Negro is entitled to choose his way of life as much as anyone else is. The schools can take an active part in this, not only in the form of desegregating the schools themselves but also in the form of taking an active part in ending discrimination in employment and in housing. You might say that this is no part of the school's problem, and yet it is, because the bleakness of employment outlook and of housing opportunities are two of the primary factors that give rise to this feeling of hopelessness, a feeling that affects the child's ability or willingness to learn.

Just as, when we find a hostile or unreceptive attitude in the home, we try to work on it in such a way that the parents support our efforts in the school instead of fighting them, so, too, I think, do we have an obligation to work with employers and with real-estate dealers to overcome discrimination in those areas as well, so that the child does, in fact, have something to look forward to. This, by the way, would have, I think, a very desirable by-product. It would be a demonstration to the child that the schools do care, that they are concerned with his welfare, that perhaps they are not so happy to see him go as they sometimes appear to be.

Of course, this also involves doing what we can to end segregation right in the schools. This is a problem of no small dimensions in itself, and naturally I cannot go into it at any length. I do want to point out, though, that while we in the schools often think that segregation in the schools is the result of housing segregation, it works the other way around, too, and therefore we are involved and obligated in this area. One of the reasons why housing is segregated is that whites tend to move out of an area if they find their children attending schools with Negro children. If they know that whatever area they move to their children will be attending school with Negro children, the compulsion to leave the area is not nearly as strong. Thus, by desegregating the schools we will help desegregate housing. The cause-and-effect relationships work in both directions.

Of course, the schools also should set an example by integrating their own staffs—teachers, administrators, clerical personnel, all the way down the line—to show that here, too, there are realistic employment opportunities for the lower-class child. This, incidentally, is particularly important for boys. Girls have some kind of role-model, some kind of socially accepted and legitimated future to look forward to, in the form of marriage and motherhood. The boy has much less of that, because a paid job is much more necessary for him than it is for the girl. I think it is important, then, for the boy to find role-models that he can realistically aspire to, and this means, among other things, the teachers in his own classrooms. This means, in turn, that we ought to have more men teachers, not only at the high-school level but at the elementary-school level, too, where they are sadly lacking.

At the same time, we have to make the lower-class child aware of such changes as have occurred. Though he may see the changes that have taken place in the schools, he needs to be made aware that there are other employment opportunities as well. We ought to make a vigorous effort to bring into the classroom people who have started out in the lower class and who, by our lights, have succeeded—not in terms of the Ralph Bunches or the Jackie Robinsons but in terms, again, of the people whose occupations are within the children's reach: stenographers, file clerks, teachers, lawyers, social workers, people who can represent a realistic hope for the child.

The second broad category of measures that I would like to propose has to do with economic changes within the school. I do not want to dwell too long on them. I do think that Conant's idea of paying teachers in the disadvantaged areas more than teachers in other areas is a good one. I think it is one way we can attract and hold good teachers there, and I think they deserve the extra pay because their job is a harder one. I would also suggest, as another aspect of this—although it would take too long to explain it in detail—a program of high-school scholarships, whereby children would receive stipends to remain in school for the last two years. If nothing else this would deprive the child of the economic excuse, of the rationalization that he has to find a job to get some spending money or to help his family out. We say to him, "We will give you the spending money, and we will help out your family." This, if nothing else, makes the child face the real problem and come to grips with it. This may sound kind of idealistic to you, but I think it is worth some consideration.

A third category of changes is what I would call the changes in the school "climate"—making school a more receptive, a more compatible, a more enjoyable place for the lower-class child to be in. There are many measures that individual teachers can take here; I dare say you can propose a great many more than I can. They are all based upon the teacher's understanding of the subculture he is dealing with. I do not mean that he ought necessarily to approve of it, but that he at least ought to know enough to realize that the subculture is not of the child's making. Very frequently, when the child displays some of the behavior that he has learned in his own subculture, we express horror or even disgust. But it is not the child's fault, and I think we ought to be wise enough to recognize this and take account of it in our own classroom behavior.

One thing that has always "bugged" me is the strict rule against talking in class. I think this makes it very painful for the lower-class child who is used to a good deal of spontaneous activity.[1] I gather you regard that as an understatement. But I do think that if we are willing to allow a certain amount of talking, we can more easily control the excess of talking. Again, I sound idealistic, I know, but I think it is worth a try. We tend to be scared of what is going to happen if we let one child talk out of turn or two children talk to each other, but I don't think that chaos will necessarily follow. At the very least, the teacher ought to become more relaxed in the classroom. That, too, I suppose, is an idealistic suggestion.

Let me propose one other area of change that I am afraid I do not have much time to discuss, and that is the area of the content of the curriculum, and of our teaching. What comes to mind here most immediately is vocational training, and, though certainly there is something to be said for it, I think we have to be very careful about that. Training a child for a specific job nowadays may not be the thing that he really needs, because jobs change too fast; what he learns in school today may be of no use to him tomorrow. But, beyond that, I would say the ability to find a good job is not the only way of giving the child some sense of control over his own destiny, some sense of power. I would stress here other things such as consumer education—teaching the child something about how to buy, about what credit is, about how to judge a product, even talking about name brands and about advertising in specifics, giving the child the feeling (and if possible the reality) of getting the "inside dope" on these things, of not forever having something put over on him but of being able to judge for himself.

Perhaps more important than that, in the long run, is what you might naturally expect me to say, and I will say it—improved instruction in the social studies. I am referring not simply to better instruction about Greek and Roman history (though I would not necessarily ignore that, either) but to instruction of a kind that will allow the child to become politically effective. Indeed, in some ways, perhaps, we can learn from these children as well as teach them. The freedom movement has taught us all, I think, a great deal about political strategy, and it would be a good place to begin in teaching social studies in disadvantaged areas. What makes a demonstration effective? When is it justified? How is it organized? I can even—and here I know you will think I am crazy—conceive of a unit in which the examination for the children might be to go out and organize a demonstration! From there, you go on to the logical next question. What are the alternatives to demonstrations? How could you get a law passed if you wanted one? How could you get a candidate elected? How could you defeat a bill if you wanted to? And then we can go on into the larger problems—why we have the kind of political system that we have, how did it get to be there, and so on.

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[1] **EDITOR:** Some laughter at this observation.

All of this is a formidable program, but we face a formidable problem. There are, I think, two sources of consolation. The first of these is that the lower-class child, or at least the Negro, has now rejected our evaluation of him. He is no longer content to be kept out of school, to be treated in the way we have treated him for so long, although this is certainly not universally true of all of our lower-class population.

Secondly, I think that, if we can take a long enough view, the problem is a temporary one. By "temporary," I mean twenty-five years or so. The schools, in a sense, have just moved too fast. We have offered universal secondary education before it was really clear that it was needed. Now, I think, the culture is catching up with us, and in another generation or so everyone will recognize its importance and perhaps we won't have the dropout problem any longer.

Meanwhile, of course, there is a lot to be done. No matter what we do, we might as well resign ourselves to a great deal of conflict and indeed some violence in the future. The mistrust of the Negro for the white, the chasm between the lower class and the middle class, are too deep to be easily or quickly overcome. I hope, though, that we will be prepared to accept these setbacks when they come, to resume our work when they are over, and not to accuse the people we are trying to help of ingratitude.

The problem, as I said, is a formidable one, but, as we often tell children in school, just because it is hard is no reason to give up trying to solve it. There is a great deal of work to be done, and as President Kennedy said so simply and eloquently not long ago, "Let us begin."

The Neighborhood School: Pros and Cons

Jack R. Childress

The opportunity to analyze this important topic has been exceedingly stimulating. The assignment has created a necessity to do some rethinking and to undertake some depth study on the topic of the neighborhood school and its broader counterpart, the community school. My hope is that this discussion will do the same for you. You may want to study and to analyze such publications as "Integrating the Urban School,"[1] a report of a recent conference held at Teachers College, Columbia University, "The Community School,"[2] a National Society for the Study of Education Yearbook, and "Learning Together."[3]

Before this presentation goes further, "ground rules" must be developed and clarified. Without recognition that certain concepts and precepts about this topic must be accepted, more than the normal handicaps to communication will be present.

A factor which is basic to this discussion is to realize that the traditional acceptance of the neighborhood attendance center as an organizational or administrative design for the public schools is being seriously questioned and openly challenged. Paralleling this item is the need to be aware that there is no absolute right or wrong position which can be taken on this particular topic. This individual interpretation will be based upon facts and opinions as viewed by one person. This discussion is really the first controversial one in this series. The approach will include a little of what is interpreted as Oliver Wendell Holmes' concept of court decisions in law—the things that are said and done relative to the neighborhood school or the community school will be related to the society of today. The characteristics and circumstances of the spring of 1964 in Boston will affect dramatically our orientation and influence your reasoning and mine about any school issue. Objectivity will be attempted but may not be achieved as precisely as the basic topic may imply—the neighborhood school—pros and cons. A definite or precise conclusion which is acceptable to all is impossible in this situation if it means that the final answer must be the neighborhood school—yes or no!!

Positions, public and private, have been taken and dedications to a point of view have been drawn on many topics in education. The stands taken of a commitment to, or to break away from adherence to, the neighborhood school concept are as tightly drawn among and between groups as in any controversial topic in this field. Only one answer is acceptable to most people who have made such a commitment—MINE! Today, and perhaps today only, each of us must look at this topic objectively and react as reasonable people it my ground rules are accepted. If you will do this, a decision will be postponed, or a commitment laid aside for an hour or two, and your final conclusion may be more rational.

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[1] KLOPF, GORDON J., and ISRAEL A. LASTER, *Editors*. "Integrating the Urban School." Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York. 1963.

[2] National Society for the Study of Education. "The Community School," Fifty-second Yearbook, Part II. The University of Chicago Press, Chicago. 1953.

[3] WEINBERG, MEYER, *Editor*. "Learning Together." Integrated Education Associates, Chicago. 1964.

A personal story or two may illustrate the dichotomy of positions or the continuum which is prevalent today and which must be recognized as each individual attempts to come to a final and conclusive answer to this issue.

My wife and I are very social. As such, we get involved in many types of activities including formal dancing classes and informal coffee "claches." Such was the background and setting for a very interesting discussion. Friends of ours, my wife and myself were together during an evening which encompassed these activities. The discussion inadvertently turned to a major social issue of the day—the efforts of minority groups to move into two suburban communities in the Chicago metropolitan area. Some rather dogmatic statements were made by the discussants which centered around the belief that some individuals were happy to read and to see that the residents of these communities had finally been willing to "fight for their rights." These "admirable" citizens had taken a public position that they did not want their villages or towns despoiled by an influx of a different racial group. The conclusion of these defenders was that suburbia should remain as it was and that no integration of any type, by the moving of different racial or religious group, should take place.

As a social scientist and as a school teacher, issue had to be taken with the expressed conclusions of many in attendance. Following a rather heated discussion, the discussion and the group dissolved in an atmosphere which was less than cordial. Since the group had been a neighborhood one, my good wife attempted during the next day to use human relations techniques, and she made an effort to placate those who might have remained antagonistic. She tried to soothe their feelings by asking them not to be offended by what I had said. The "opponents" of our position also had a conscience and replied in the accepted fashions: "We are really not too far apart in our positions and no one was really offended or disgruntled."

My wife continued to explain my position. She identified the fact that my experience had been with all types of groups, that we had found good in all, that I had gone to school with all groups, that I had taught all groups, and that I taught that each person should have equal rights in all social, economic, cultural, and educational endeavors. The reply to these comments was a classic: "Well you know, some of us wish that he did not teach that way."

Those who take an opposing point of view are filled with bewilderment as to why and how some individuals can come to such conclusions. Recognition must be given, however, to the fact that this position is taken and that it may, or similar biases may, lead to specific irrational conclusions. There are other points of view which represent different positions on the continuum.

Friends of ours recently joined a country club. The belief is held by nonmembers that there is a modest amount of selectivity which enters into the admission process of that club. My friend was criticized severely by some of his associates for accepting this membership. Lengthy discussions were held of the morality of opened or closed membership in our society, of the kinds of experiences that one should provide for a family, of the types of associations which should be provided for children, and of many other social problems. The new club member was severely chastised because he had made a selection to become part of a discriminating group. His colleagues were saying that there should be complete open membership everywhere and that children in an isolated social setting would be deprived of a normal growth situation.

What has been illustrated here are two distinct points of the scale of reactions to social problems. At one, people wish to prevent any interplay between different racial, religious, or ethnic groups. At another point, the philosophy is represented by aggressive action to provide experience for all in a multiplicity of social settings in every feasible way. Others will advocate less extreme placement on the continuum than either of these when attempting to resolve the social issues involved.

Somewhere between these two extremes may represent the correct social point ot view for most. The "right way" will be somewhere between the two points identified—the preventive interplay of groups and the aggressive action which might be taken to prevent it versus the complete selectivity being advocated by open membership and aggressive development of interrelationships.

In school organizational patterns the same continuum operates. One identifiable position is the neighborhood school regardless. Another would say no neighborhood school per se. These conclusions appear to be at opposite ends of the continuum. Very little disagreement will prevail on the logic of the variations that have been identified. The numbers found at each extreme may be debatable. Somewhere along the scale the eclectic or right approach must be identified. Can there be a solution other than those which have been identified by the extremes? I can only say, "There must be."

In the context of today's meeting, the community or neighborhood school will be identified, as many have been, as an attendance unit in a multiple school system with rather set boundaries designed to serve the children in a segment of the city. The limits of the region incorporated into the attendance area will be set on the basis of geographic and community characteristics and not on the basis of ethnic, social, economic, racial, or other features. The basic characteristic of a good community or neighborhood school should include consideration of safety factors recognized by all, distance to the school plant from the extremities of the area to be served, and the number of children to be served. Under these arrangements efforts are made to demarcate a specified area as the zone or district served by a given school and to require all pupils living in the area to attend that school.

On the elementary school level the neighborhood school will be synonymous with the walk-in or community school. On the upper grade levels the community school will be based on other logical factors of division as well as geography.

The Neighborhood School—Pro

The basic characteristics or reasons for the establishment and maintenance of the community school are well known. Those included in this statement are paraphrased from the publications identified previously and from similar statements in other writings as well as from the experience of the speaker.

The neighborhood concept incorporated the idea that the school is and becomes an integral part of the community and not an isolated agency within it.

The depth study required to individualize instruction for each child in his family and societal settings can be more easily done.

The teacher can identify herself with the community and may work to become a part of it and to be accepted by it.

A saving of resources, both physical and human, results from schools located close to the homes of students Costs are reduced to the communities supporting the schools, and, for the pupils, time and energy are conserved.

The school can become a model or standard for upgrading the community or maintaining it at a high level.

The educational unit can become a community center. The children are attracted to it, parents follow and community education can go on therein.

A few specific comments will be made about each of these characteristics. First, however, my intention is to identify by example what the neighborhood school may mean to different community schools. The first example will be a community school or neighborhood school which has been known rather intimately in Chicago. The P—— School is located in an area that virtually everyone describes as below the median on the socioeconomic scale. The school is small according to the standards usually associated with a large city—an enrollment of 400 to 500 each year. The other characteristics of the school were more typical of the setting in which it was located. The neighborhood and the school were integrated. Facilities other than classrooms were virtually nonexistent. Without an auditorium, the community meeting room was the corridor. Fortunately, the stairway was wide, which allowed the use of the landing between the floors as the stage. Anyone who addressed a group spoke two ways to his audience as people sat on the stairway and stood in the corridor. The school had small rooms and large rooms, but none of them were the size that would be recommended today. But the spirit was there. It would take the most eloquent speaker at his peak to come close to describing the feeling that was prevalent in that building—an atmosphere that was obvious when you were there. The P—— School was a community center. A great principal administered the school; a staff continued in that school and rarely left. The community leaders supported the school. The development of each child was uppermost—a visitor could not miss the fact that this was a unique educational endeavor, but one that could be duplicated. Any inquiry made of, or conversation entered into with, a teacher, a pupil, a parent or a member of the community evoked such spontaneity in the reply that the enthusiasm for the school was readily noted.

A respect for learning and education was apparent in every face. There was a pride in the accomplishment of that school; and there was a real effort to eliminate the acceptance of devious behavior. The children were learning. You may say, "Well how do you know? Maybe you were indulging in wishful thinking." The only answer is that several visits confirmed this belief. I never felt so proud in all of my life of being a member of the teaching profession as when I saw how the people in that community honored a teacher. If they knew that a visitor were a college professor, they almost groveled at his feet. They respected education and educators. This school and its program had created this atmosphere. An experience in that school would make any teacher a little more dedicated after having been given here an opportunity to see what a community school can do.

Another neighborhood or community school is the little red schoolhouse. The rural community has an attachment and love for the little red schoolhouse. This spirit prevails also in certain communities for their neighborhood schools. It may be a fact of life that any effort to close or change the neighborhood school may create a reaction that would be similar to that which occurred when attempts were made to close the little red schoolhouse. People are going to react. A new phenomenon may evolve in support of neighborhood schools. The school has become the focus for the development of the community, and any blurring of this image may bring a crisis which has not been anticipated.

The good school is or becomes an integral part of the community it serves and is not an isolated agency in it. The overtones ot this appear obvious. A real neighborhood or community school is the neighborhood activities center; it is the place for recreation and learning for all groups. A potential is ever present for upgrading the neighborhood whether it is a rural or intercity community. The school sponsors or provides space for projects of all types if it truly is a neighborhood or community school. These activities range from home improvement to food preparation and from family care to the learning that goes on in each classroom and in the adult program. The local school, the neighborhood school, attended by a child attracts people to it much more than an isolated school in an unfamiliar area. The schools need the support of parents if good education is to accrue to all. The support of parents tends to expand when the attendance unit is in the local community.

A second assumed advantage of the neighborhood school is inherent in the opportunities provided for depth study of the individual child in his familial and societal surroundings and settings. These analyses can be made more easily in the "home" area. Curricular adaptation to special needs and circumstances based on an understanding of the child in the community in which he lives may develop more appropriately in the neighborhood school. The teacher is able to visit the home in the community. She can relate to the child and the family by virtue of having intimate knowledge about him, his background, his community, and his home in which he lives.

My wife and I were shocked at one time to hear a story which the people living in a given community probably took for granted. My wife heard a teacher tell about a little boy who drew a very fine drawing—real art. The instructor said to him, "Why don't you take that drawing home and put it on your wall?" He answered, "I don't have a wall." She replied, "Why everybody has walls." He then repeated, "No, we don't have a wall." Investigation proved the story true. The teacher found that so many families shared a large room that the boy's family unit had only the middle of the room. The pupil in question literally had no wall upon which he could put a picture. A teacher will have to live and know a community before the truth of a situation such as that described above can be recognized. The individual teacher is forced to take another look at the values that she brings an individual community as she studies her values in the community setting.

The good teacher will identify himself or herself with the community and will work to become a part of it and to be accepted by it. Home visitation, depth study of the child, acquaintanceship with the merchants and leaders in the community provide recognition of the multiple characteristics that are present in every community. Each of these factors must be studied more in detail if the community school philosophy is to be made operable. Statements made here can only be stimulators to further study.

Another stated attribute of the neighborhood school is the saving of resources, both physical and human, which results from the organization of a school system on this basis. The costs are reduced to the community supporting the school. The bus problem and, in many circumstances, the food problems are eliminated or at least drastically reduced. When the amount of time which might be spent in bussing in a nonneighborhood school design is totaled, the expenditure of pupil time and energy is obvious. The school and all of its resources become more accessible to the child if it is in his "home" area. This factor will be advantageous in promoting after-school activities and attracting pupils to them. This implies, of course, a willingness by the school and community to staff and to organize a program. These activities are either self-selective, extracurricular, or academic consultations with the teachers. Geographically separated, nonneighborhood schools tend to isolate the child from the potential activities of that unit and fail to provide close contact with normal after-school play programs.

The neighborhood school can become also a model or a standard for upgrading the community or maintaining it at a high level. This "truism" is more likely to develop when children and adults are intimately associated with it, and their activities integrated into the school. Unfortunately, the association is that normally the school merely reflects the characteristics of the community in which it is located. The facts can be other than this. Any local unit can be a model for a community. The patterns must not be unattainable, but be such that persons served by this school would say, "This is the way we want our homes and overall community to look. These are the kinds of things we want to have—a little (or a lot) better than we have now." The school in this situation would function as a stimulus to a better life.

Children will be attracted to a physically beautiful and an educationally warm school. Parents will follow the magnet created by the school, the children, and a familiar setting. If the situation were unfamiliar, it would tend to be rejected unless the family or the individuals were exceptionally aggressive. If the community is to maintain a good school, all must be involved in it. Unless the parents have children to attract them to the school, it will be difficult to have them feel a real need to be in association with that center. Close relationships with a good situation can bring general upgrading of the community. A neighborhood school can be, should be, and must be an asset for the promotion of continuous education, community development, and individual improvement.

The Neighborhood School—Con

The neighborhood has been examined and discussed as a positive factor for education. Equal consideration must now be given to the negative or "con" portion of the issue. No stated or one-sided position in the 1964 setting can be classified as universally accepted in education. This topic might well have been classified as an internal debate—the views can be so dichotomous. One side has been presented; now the reverse or "con" portion of the debate will be given. The start will again be with a brief overview of this position.

The neighborhood or local school creates an atmosphere of maintenance of the status quo of educational practice and for individuals, groups, and society in total. This may even be an overstatement of the issue because it may seem that in some situations backward steps are being taken.

Although society in 1964 is characterized normally as being upwardly mobile, the neighborhood school program may retard this growth.

For those who are enrolled in a neighborhood school, there may be a completely isolated or segregated social learning situation. A reduction in the learning opportunities associated with a cross-section of population occurs.

The neighborhood school seems to promote all of the disadvantages of homogeneous grouping without any of the reputed advantages of being able to move vertically or horizontally as a particular individualized situation may demand.

This type of unit fails to implement the philosophy of the 1954 Supreme Court decision.

The localized attendance unit promotes a feeling of dissatisfaction, lack of fair play, and a belief that those in control of society wish to keep it a particular way.

Some issues or problems in this setting need to be looked at further. A major issue for educational statesmen, community leaders, politicians, and thoughtful individuals everywhere is in the question—what is the purpose of the school in a society's development? Is the school a maintainer of society, or is it a social change agent? Which role is the school to play? There can be little doubt. Education must be one of the change agents in society. Learning situations must be provided which will create a dissatisfaction with what is currently prevalent. Dissatisfaction should appear on all levels of society.

What is the basic reason for maintaining the existing boundaries or the establishment of the area which is maintained as a neighborhood school? Should these be changed? Maybe! I believe personally, perhaps naively, that there are few areas in which the boundary lines for schools are drawn deliberately to include or exclude certain people.

Illustrative maps of school district lines in another community, or of congressional, state, and city political entities will show quickly how difficult it is to chastise any group for the lines it has drawn to serve the particular populace affected. A map of the voting districts of Needham would be characteristic of these efforts. Very good reasons for the design can easily be identified—how streets run, the most propitious way to get to a given place, the traffic patterns that have developed.

The first perusal of any governmental districting may raise the question of gerrymandering. Two things might be said—groups do draw lines peculiarly, but before any criticism is made, the basic characteristics of the area must be understood. As you examine maps about attendance, congressional, or school districts, do not jump to hasty conclusions. They require depth study to determine why they were drawn as they are before we conclude that they are wrong merely because they are shaped peculiarly, or we thought we knew the characteristics of the community.

What are the issues inherent in the statement "the neighborhood school—con"? The neighborhood or local school creates an atmosphere that there is a desire to maintain or to support the status quo of education, of individuals, of groups, and of communities. This position may be an overstatement. Actual degradation of groups, or retardation of development, may result by failure to modify community lines or to alter the neighborhood concept. The community, by virtue of its background, its tradition, may maintain a "strait jacket" on progress. If the community reflects this through the school, no social change, no progress, and no creativity can occur. This situation was characteristic of the neighborhood surrounding the H——— High School in Chicago. This unit was built over the opposition of the neighborhood. The citizens of the area were a first generation immigrant group which held the concept that when children finished the eighth grade, they were to go to work. They did not want a high school. That neighborhood, if it had been allowed to maintain its own characteristics, would have said, "All children quit school at the end of the elementary school level." Thus, a community, in its totality or in its segments, may retard progress.

Although society is characterized generally as upward mobile, the neighborhood school may retard this for various groups. Those communities which are somewhat below the average in social economic characteristics will find this especially true. Any community or neighborhood school which provides substandard school facilities, which is staffed by below-average personnel, or which allows substandard scholastic achievement, will tend to produce a product which will not improve itself or the society with which it associates. Ambition, motivation, and desire must come from the family and the school. Where one or the other retards, there is difficulty. When both combine to retard, the chances for change become almost insurmountable.

A reduction in the learning opportunity associated with living with a cross-section of population in the schools can be promoted by strict adherence to a neighborhood school policy. Many individuals would classify this as undemocratic education for all children. If the common school is viewed as a basic social instrument for obtaining our traditional American goals of equal opportunity for personal fulfillment, a position taken by the New York City School Department, the historical concept of the melting pot nation will not be maintained by isolating groups from each other. Can understanding, sympathy, pride in accomplishment be created when no contact is made between and among dissimilar groups? Sympathetic understanding can develop only through contact. Boston University is trying to do this when student teachers are placed in Boston. Prospective teachers will not know the joy of teaching in all types of communities unless they have specific experiences in them. Society cannot afford to allow students to be undereducated in respect to the multiple characteristics of the population groups to today's cities, countries, and continents. Teachers and students need expanded contacts with social groups other than the ones they normally associate with by virtue of proximity in daily living and working situations. The neighborhood school may create isolation rather than promote interaction.

The neighborhood school stands accused of promoting all of the disadvantages of homogeneous grouping without any of the potential advantages of upward movement and increased accomplishment. Studies show that the reported advantages which accrue scholastically to academic or segregated groups have not been demonstrated satisfactorily to all. In addition, many believe that the social and human programs which develop offset whatever scholastic gains may be registered. Homogeneous grouping—planned or unplanned, local or neighborhood—should bring better learning. If it does not, the wrong thing is being done. Sometimes neighborhood schools are just mass homogeneous groups. The problems of the educational setting which are characterized in this debatable way must be carefully studied, and probably change should occur.

The neighborhood school fails to implement the philosophy of at least a portion of the 1954 Supreme Court decision. "To separate them from others of similar age and qualification solely because of their race generates the feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to be undone." A 1946 decision in California follows the same pattern. "The equal protection of the laws pertaining to the public school systems in California is not provided by furnishing in separate schools the same technical facilities, textbooks and courses of instruction to children of Mexican ancestry that are available to the other public school children regardless of their ancestry. A paramount requisite to the American system of public education is social equity. It must be open to all children by unified school association." Neighborhood schools which are completely oneness may not promote equality.

Finally, the neighborhood school may promote a feeling of dissatisfaction, a lack of fair play, and a belief that those in control of the society wish to maintain it in a certain way. All or each of these may lead to the community strife which has become characteristic in some areas. Organized protest, summarized by "integration rather than education," is sometimes the cry. The seeming social rejection of a human being can lead to generalizations which are unwarranted. However, they generate protestations which create conflict. These struggles promote poor school-community relations and consume tremendous amounts of human time and energy.

Are there resolutions for all of this? If the space and time have been computed accurately, a fair balance has been achieved on both issues—the neighborhood school—pro or con. As a result of this analysis, my personal conclusion is that the neighborhood school concept is a good basic working principle and is one which I would prefer and would prefer not to give up. However, as society is currently structured economically and geographically, the principles inherent in the neighborhood school cannot be applied without adjudication in some portions of our communities and our nation. To fail to make modification in a basic design would leave the impression that the ultimate truth in school planning and organization has been found. This I must deny. My personal desire is to promote the dream for equality of education in every way and to maintain the neighborhood concept wherever possible.

Two articles or experiences to which I will refer take exactly opposite positions on the neighborhood school. They provide a good summary of the pro and con of this topic.

Arthur Rice, former editor of the *Nation's Schools*, has an article in the November, 1963, issue of that magazine. He says, "Don't manipulate boundaries. Improve educational services. There is nothing wrong with the neighborhood elementary school attendance policy, but there seems to be a lot wrong with the kind of education provided in some schools. The remedy is to improve the educational services in these schools rather than to manipulate the attendance boundaries or attempt to establish artificial ratios of enrollment based on color, race, or creed. There is no substitute for the neighborhood school."

Years ago the late Arthur B. Mochlman enunciated the principle that the American public school represents a partnership between the parent and the state necessitating the active interest and intelligent participation of parents in the educational program. For this reason, it is necessary that the home and school be in close contact geographically and administratively. Another reason for the neighborhood attendance policy is the belief that it is unsafe for young children to walk many blocks or travel long distances through city traffic to attend school. "I dispute," Dr. Rice says, "Allen's (New York State Commissioner) implication that the efficiency with which a child learns reading and writing is affected in any significant way by the color of the child who sits at the next desk. Rather, the rate of learning results from the efforts of the child, his innate ability, and the competence of his teacher and the adequacy of the school plant and its instructional facilities and materials."

James B. Allen, Commissioner of Education for the State of New York, takes a somewhat different position as hinted previously. The following are excerpts from statements which he has made: "It is my position that a racially segregated school, one that is predominantly Negro, is not a good thing for the children involved or for society generally, whether it is segregated de jure or de facto. A typical Negro school is usually looked upon in our society as a school of lower status and less desirable than a school occupied almost wholly by white students. There is an undesirable psychological effect upon a child who must attend a school composed largely of pupils who know that as a group they are viewed as less able, less successful, and less acceptable than the majority in the community. My experience has shown that when the number of Negroes in a particular school reaches the critical point, parents tend to remove their children, teachers seek assignments in what they consider more desirable schools, and there tends to be a lowering of general morale and pupil motivation and achievements. Proper attention to the care and upkeep of the building oftentimes drops off and interest generally in the school on the part of the public declines. Thus, the problem of racial imbalance is relevant to the problem of equality of opportunity in education. I have not and do not advocate a change in the neighborhood school principle. This principle has important educational values and has long been and should continue to be a basic criterion in planning the location of schools and the assignment of pupils. When the application of the neighborhood school principle in a particular area tends to create or perpetuate conditions which handicap good education, then the application of principle, that is the definition of the neighborhood, must be adjusted to correct these conditions."

These positions tighten the differences on the pros and cons of the neighborhood school. The challenge is made to teachers and administrators each day to take a position on the issues created by the neighborhood school and other social situations. An answer must be evolved by each individual which allows for the building of a consistent philosophy within a school system, and of a strong individualized educational program for all pupils and students. No person can escape. All professionals must reach the best conclusion for themselves on the basis of the evidence available. The positive approach to creating a better school system will accomplish more than mere negativism. The poem "The Builder" provides such an orientation.

I watched them tearing a building down
A gang of men in a busy town
With a yo-heave ho, and a mighty yell,
They swung a beam and a sidewall fell.
I asked the foreman, "Are these men skilled—
The kind you would hire if you wanted to build?"
He laughed and said, "Why no indeed,
Just common labor is all I need."
I asked myself as I went on my way—
Which of these roles have I played today?
Am I a builder who worked with care
Measuring life by the rule and square
Shaping my deeds by a well-made plan,
Patiently doing the best I can,
Or am I a wrecker who walks the town,
Content with the labor of tearing down?

Your charge is to develop a philosophy which you can support on the neighborhood school—pro or con. Build it well, for generations will be affected

The Language Skills in Disadvantaged Areas

Melvin Howards

The topic for today's discussion is teaching reading and language skills to underprivileged or disadvantaged youth. This includes reading, writing, grammar, spelling, and the other closely related language skills. Certainly no area of the school's curriculum has had more publicity in the last few years, particularly in relation to the so-called "disadvantaged." Dropouts, delinquents, predelinquents, are all found to be seriously wanting in the reading and language skills; in fact, many would say that failure in these crucial areas of the curriculum explains why many disadvantaged youth leave school. They fail in these skills which are the cornerstone of any educational endeavor. In spite of all the interest and concern of educators, psychologists, and others, little has come forth which would help us in the classrooms to significantly improve our instruction in these critical reading and language areas with these youth. May I suggest several things which may be practical along these lines?

We ought to begin by asking why these kids do not make it when it comes to learning how to read and write properly? At the outset we can say, with the support of a great deal of research, that intelligence is not the reason for these failures. Environmental forces, almost all of which are negative and basically destructive of the basic aims of education, are certainly important, but even these forces do not explain the amount of failure in reading we have encountered in the last decade or so. Books, materials, and other instructional aids are available—perhaps not in the quantity or quality which might be most effective or desirable, but some material is on hand. The weaknesses in the materials, which we will mention a little later, certainly contribute significantly to the problem but, again, do not explain it. What does?

One realm which has not been adequately tapped along this line concerns the attitudes which these kids bring to school and to learning situations; the attitudes of their middle-class teachers must be given more serious consideration also. These disadvantaged youth live in a different cultural milieu than we (of the middle class) do. Their gangs and street corner culture represent oases in the world of arid middle-class values, books, standards. We as teachers can't change the fact that we are middle class, and that we do represent a different world view, but we cannot force this down the throats of the disadvantaged in any way. The world we know is not particularly relevant to the disadvantaged, since they do not and cannot share it, or even understand it under the present circumstances. Bridging the abyss between our world view and its value system and theirs will require more than pious talk and promises. It will require action of a different nature. It is worthy of note that when we speak of disadvantaged youth we might add that many of their teachers feel disadvantaged having to teach them.

One of the realities we had better face at the outset is that many of these kids do not want to communicate with us (teachers or other middle-class authority figures) in any way. So they don't. Instead they develop many of their own words and phrases which are fully understood in their gang or other special social group. Since we do not make much room for them in our acceptable social groups, they do make their own. They organize and rule the gang or clique quite effectively, but not by our standards. Their creativity with language is also worthy of note, and for us as teachers a guide for instructional purposes. Let me briefly illustrate this by a personal experience with just such "Blackboard Jungle" kids in New Jersey:

I taught English and social studies, of all things, to these kids who were the rejects of all the other "acceptable" schools in Newark. They did not like school and waited until they could quit, or be thrown out by the superintendent, who served as guidance counselor with one question for those sent to him for disciplinary purposes: How old are you? If the answer were sixteen, he guided them out of school! It was clear from the beginning with these boys that regular methods and materials were "square" and left them entirely cold. So I started by demonstrating my own knowledge of Anglo-Saxon, especially the type learned in the Navy (with government support). They found that surprising. Then I convinced them that they could read some of what they said. We started what is technically called a "modified experience approach" to reading. That is, we used their words, their language, and we tried to use their interests as the sources for our first reading activities. Slowly they came around and apparently began to feel that reading was not entirely "out of it" or "square." The material from their experiences and interests, plus the use (in the beginning) of their own modes of expression, broke the ice. This was no imposition of rules and patterns by a "Man," their word for any white, middle-class authority figure. I guess they thought I was almost human, and that maybe I could help them—without condescension or pressure to meet some arbitrary standards. But I literally "took them at their word," and this was the start.

Obviously all was not milk and honey, and these fellows did not all turn from these early experiences and vernacular lessons to Shakespeare or Frost or Faulkner, but many of them did begin to read books I might suggest, and their writing improved, particularly when we wrote about their interests, e.g., cars, motors, girls, etc.

One sidelight is this illustration which I found quite interesting. It came on the spur of a moment when certain choice Anglo Saxon-words were being expressed by some of my boys. I picked it up and started an etymological study of the word. This floored them—to say the least. We did it with several other such words and then, from time to time, we did it with more acceptable words. A few of them really found this intriguing, but more importantly, I think, it threw most of them off guard when I came back without a reprimand, but with some "nutty" business about where these words came from. The shock effect helped launch a few other vocabulary activities.

The point of the illustration is not that you suave, debonair people should resort to profanity in order to teach. The point is I reached these kids partly because I started where they were and was not too proud or judgmental about their language or their ways. I think I treated them like people—neither black nor white—just guys.

One last word on this. When we had made some progress with these various experience activities and applications of their word knowledge, we did some translations. These were gems—as you might imagine. We would read a fairly respectable piece of literature, short stories usually, and I would have them write their own versions of the story, in their own words. Oh, boy—what creativity! Some of it wasn't exactly publishable, but much of it (even in the beginning) was quite good and demonstrated some good insight into character, plot, and theme. As we went along, of course, these translations were slowly dropped, but before they were a considerable improvement in their writing and usage was noted. We had begun communicating with each other, and that was, to me, a major breakthrough. Granted this small measure of success with these disadvantaged youth was with one teacher in one classroom, but I think that it offers some real hope. We absolutely cannot continue with our own middle-class value systems as the sole guide to our behaviour with them, and we cannot force upon them the middle-class pap so evident in most early readers, and some of the social studies books. Before we can hope to reach them—to teach them, not just control them — we have to be willing to start where they are and to develop some flexibility in our attitudes toward them as people and as students.

Being poor or disadvantaged is a handicap, not a crime. It seems to me that the basic axiom of teaching is that we always assume that a child is capable of more than he is doing now, not that any child is a fixed and static quantity or complex of qualities. With these kids this is uniquely true.

Thus, a modified experience approach was used with some success. I strongly recommend it to you. Let us look at another aspect of this entire business. I refer specifically to the fact that those of us who teach youth like these, or any others for that matter, do not suffer from lack of knowledge as to what constitutes a basically good reading and language skills program. That is, most of us know what skills need to be taught, and there are numerous professional books which provide much specific information and activity programs for carrying on an adequate program. But what happens that so many kids, disadvantaged ones particularly, do not encounter some of the essential skills needed for really successful reading? A major part of that answer lies in the nature of the books and materials available for use with these youth. Certainly we know the skills and the sequencing, but if we are abandoned with material which is not appropriate for some of the older disadvantaged youth who are actually functioning on a very low instructional level in reading, then the chances of our success with these youngsters is severely hampered if not totally negated.

I am not saying that basal readers, for example, or social studies series, do not include some of the basic material for skills development, but I am saying that the content, and the organization of that content, do not meet the needs of youth—disadvantaged or not. In the basals, especially, we see the epitome of middle-class values, standards, and mores. Cherubic little white children playing outside their split-level, fenced-in homes, a dog, and soon a father in a fairly late model car comes into view. The activities, the language, the world depicted is a never-never land especially to those who live in East Harlem or Roxbury. In fact, that antiseptic world is scarcely real to any children except those who live in middle-class suburbia. This kind of appeal certainly cannot reach the disadvantaged — the hopeless poor kids. If we are to reach these kids who have tuned us out in so many ways—as we have tuned them out—we must seriously consider providing new and different materials which will not only meet their interests and the world they know, but must also be more appropriate to the experiential backgrounds and general maturity of those for whom they are intended. A fifteen-year-old boy from Roxbury will probably not become ecstatic when he is put into a 2^1 or 4^1 basal reader which depicts the rosy-cheeked cherubs I mentioned earlier. This is one of the reasons I have strongly recommended using a modified experience approach for those who are fairly mature, but who read at a very low level. In order to teach them the phonics, structural analysis, and skills needed for independent reading, we must communicate with them at something near their interest and maturity level. This calls for unique books and materials.

A massive revision of the content, format, and attitude of these books we must use to instruct those who live as "aliens" in our midst—the poor people, to be blunt—is an absolute necessity now. For most of these materials, as currently used, definitely close out those who do not share our neat, clean, orderly little world of adequate housing, clothing, food, and hope for a future. Certainly good books and materials will not solve all of the problems of the disadvantaged, but they could make a major contribution to changing their attitude toward school and to learning in general.

As an aside, may I say that there are several dimensions of disadvantage: (1) educational disadvantage; (2) socioeconomic; (3) psychological. And may I add that my children, who attend a middle-class school, in a middle-class suburb, are in my opinion disadvantaged? They are also in the first and perhaps the third dimension listed above. They are not being stimulated, challenged enough, academically. Their teachers seem rather unprepared to carry on what I consider a minimal program; yet the building is pretty and the town is attractive, but a failure must be recorded.

Another rather practical suggestion for teaching the disadvantaged to read relates to teaching some of the basic study skills. In remedial work we often find that a youngster who may be having particular problems in the word recognition area is merely given larger doses of the same kind of exercises and activities, which assumes that if he didn't get it the first time he will after more repetition of the same thing. Yet we know from a great deal of clinical experience that this is not necessarily true at all. Many kids will undergo practice and drill with the same phonic elements and never learn them well enough to develop real independence in word attack. What I am suggesting here is that sometimes a head-on attack of a problem is not always the most effective. Sometimes one can more easily enter through a back door. The back door I refer to here is the use of a regular skills program.

For example, most kids can fairly quickly learn how to preview, find main ideas and details, outline, find guide words, etc. And learning to apply one or more of these concrete, tangible skills sometimes convinces the student that he can do it, and that maybe—maybe—he can do something else. My experience strongly suggests that this skills approach can be extremely effective, both in terms of the student's ability to handle content more efficiently and get more from it, and from the standpoint of his beginning to develop some confidence in himself as a learner.

The notion which has been the underpinning for most remedial programs and programs for the gifted, as well, has been that more and more of the same is all that is needed to remedy a reading problem or to stimulate further growth in reading. It just isn't that simple. Bright kids should get a qualitatively different set of materials and requirements, not just fifty more pages of the same stuff that the others had. In remedial work ten more worksheets on the same elements is not the answer. Perhaps the skills approach is one way. I found it so.

What I am saying here is that reading can be a major force in the lives of the kids we are talking about. Not just for its academic value, which is certainly not to be underrated, but value in terms of their own personal development. I think that reading is the last outpost of individuality in the American culture today. It is the only time most of us can sit down, alone, in quiet and in private. It is at such times we can communicate with the best minds of all times. We can figure basic problems and issues out, for ourselves, as we understand the message. In reading we are free from the huckster, temporarily. It is also an opportunity to transcend our lives and our immediate environment, and perhaps offer some hope for a future—or some beauty.

This leads us into another suggestion for work with these kids. A modified form of bibliotherapy has been found useful already. That is, certain stories, novels, etc., are selected for reading by the students—or to be read to them—which deal with problems and people not too different from those they know. A discussion of the characters, events, choices in the story can be almost objective. The reader need not feel he is being personally embarrassed or held up for analysis. One looks at the story and discusses problems (often like our own) realistically. A similar procedure has been used in at least one prison program I know of, and it has been quite successful over the past three or four years. The prisoners can discuss Camus' *The Stranger*, and his choices, his prison and court experience somewhat objectively, while realizing that it has some direct bearing on their lives. This is not armchair analysis and should not be. It is a procedure that must be used with care. But it can be useful with such kids as those we are daily concerned with.

While we are considering the psychological dimension of reading problems, I would like to mention a fascinating study done at NYU a few years ago. A man named Proctor hypothesized that remedial readers would manifest more anxiety about reading than a normal reader, and he was measuring this anxiety by galvanic response. The meter, which indicated the amount of perspiration the individual exuded while reading, was used as an indicator of anxiety. He ran both groups through the same reading material and questions and carefully measured their galvanic responses and discovered to his amazement that contrary to his initial hypothesis the nonremedial kids showed much more anxiety in reading situations than did the remedial readers. This led him and others to the conclusion that the typical remedial reader is convinced of his inability to read and has stopped worrying about it. He expects to fail, he has failed, and it is not a shock to him. The normal reader is anxious to succeed and to meet the middle-class standards, so he worries more.

Now with the culturally different or deprived this same phenomenon has been observed. These kids have done nothing but fail in this world which they do not understand and which expects things of them they do not understand either. Our disadvantaged kids have, by and large, given up on school work, particularly reading. So they do not try. Their motivation is low or nonexistent for such academic endeavors. If we are to teach them, in spite of some of our inadequate materials, we are going to have to overcome this failure-prone syndrome they exhibit. And that is why I have emphasized the modified experience approach as a way of breaking down some of the barriers and threats to them. They cannot beat us and they will not join us just because we say we want them to. We have to show, vividly and dramatically, day by day, that we think of them as people—not black, Puerto Rican, etc., but people who need some help in learning to read and write better. By using their experience and maturity, and by not condescending or patronizing, we can slowly move them into a position where they are willing to accept some instruction. But we cannot be so far above them that we can only instruct with our own values and standards. We must let them know that we respect their world, and their problems, and that we can help without taking their dignity and pride from them as payment. Otherwise why should they struggle to succeed in school, for if they make it they know their job opportunities will be severely limited anyway. To some of them it seems that no matter what they do or achieve, their world is circumscribed. They become negatively fatalistic. As teachers we have the best opportunity to reach them and to alter such views. But we must start where they are. We must accept them as they are and move on from there. We cannot expect them to accept all our standards and values and to mimic us in all ways. That would not be success, but a form of failure. If they become what they are, and if they can believe in their ability to handle such essential skills as are needed to read and write effectively, then there is hope—real and tangible. Certainly we cannot change all of the socioeconomic conditions which plague them, but we can give them a boost up the social ladder with a solid education—not brainwashing.

So, let's briefly summarize some of the suggestions I have made. Use them as their own source materials for some of the work in beginning reading. Use their words and expressions. Take them as a form of creative activity, not as bludgeons against you. Accept them as people. The use of an experience approach can be most helpful to establish a decent and working relationship between you and the students. Bibliotherapy can also be useful for those who are extremely hostile, as a way of symbolically freeing them to express some of their views and feelings freely and in a nonthreatening situation.

Neither a bleeding heart nor a savior be, but one who wants them to learn to the fullest extent of their capacity, even if it means a greater flexibility on your part in terms of books, materials, and methods.

Negro History and the Negro Future

Herbert E. Tucker, Jr.

I do not pretend to speak to you today as a teacher, or as an authority on Negro history, nor even as a lawyer, but as one who has long been associated with, and deeply concerned about, the Civil Rights Movement. I bring you the Attorney General's greeting and his wishes that these lectures be successful and enlightening. I am privileged to be here and I do hope that I can render some assistance to you, who must reconcile America's breach of promise to her Negro citizens with her noble and daring promise of "liberty and justice for all."

Education and democracy, working together, will ultimately be the custodians of human rights. The ingredients of the American dream must be applied without regard for ethnic, racial, or religious differences. Few of us would deny this, but not many of us are willing to implement it in our relationship to those students and neighbors who may be different in color or faith. We set ourselves apart, dwell in a world of self, and deprive ourselves of cultural enrichment, and, more important, we delude ourselves with a madness of unfounded superiority. We confine ourselves to a world of ignorance; we take the road that leads to bigotry and greed and lawlessness.

As educators, you must attempt to reverse the tide of stupidity that threatens democracy on two fronts, for surely there is no longer any doubt that those who torment are hurt as deeply as those who are tormented. How shall you interpret the nebulous concept of democracy to those who have been scorned? How shall you interpret democracy to those who refuse to understand equality, and who are convinced that Negroes are incapable of serious thought? For a moment, let us look back three hundred years and quickly trace the roots of our current problems and attitudes.

Destruction of the black family was a significant step in the dehumanization of American slaves. Intolerable living conditions, endless labor, barbaric punishments were other means of perpetuating the system. But the ruin of the family ties was the key to subservience. Mothers became breeders who were offered special privileges for producing over ten children. Fathers became stud animals. Husband and wife relationships were rare and extremely tenuous. Thus, concubinage was common.

Regardless of the accounts of southern historians to the contrary, miscegenation was a favored tradition on the plantation as long as the man was white and woman black. Fair children, because of their "low visibility," were allowed books, and so began the struggle back to dignity. But the dark masses were continually met by an impregnable wall of inferiority, endlessly repeated in every detail of human life. Furthermore, the lie, repeated, was believed by those who told it.

But on July 4, 1776, America made a promise, and fate would have it that this promise be kept. So the second revolution began in 1860, and continues still. Now, whether we think that it was to save a nation which could not exist half free and half slave, or whether we think it was an effort to accept the principles of human dignity which had been promised, these considerations are no longer important. The conscience of America had been awakened, and in the end three million people were turned loose into a society that was unable and unwilling to accept them. From this coign of vantage, we might say that, had a gradual plan of absorption begun one hundred years ago, we might be ending an era of social unrest instead of beginning one.

But the Civil War happened, and we inherited problems as great if not greater than the ones of emancipation and rights—further frustrations, further bewilderment, fear, distrust, and the birth of the doctrine of biological inferiority.

Dwight Lowell Dumond in his book, *Anti-Slavery* says, "slavery was not the source of this philosophy. It merely enshrined it, prevented a practical demonstration of its falsity, and filled the public offices and the councils of religious, educational, and political institutions with men reared in its atmosphere." So a new device, like the destruction of the family during slavery, was used to deny any right of self-direction to these newly liberated masses of men. They became immediately the pawns in an immense power struggle.

For example, as a punishment to the rebels these masses were enfranchised, knowing little about how to use their voting powers and strongly influenced by vindictive northern Congressmen. These men knew that to establish a more immediate threat to the recovery of the South, they must attack it from within. The South retaliated with a vicious campaign, which Louis Lomax has called "Niggering," designed to split the potentially dangerous voting block of the poor white and the newly liberated brown farmers. So what had formerly been a physchological aberration became a social institution, inspired by demagogues. It was then, with the creation of the Negro as an American pariah, that discrimination, as we know it, began. The resultant disenfranchisement served to give further impetus to the split in the races.

No distinction was made between the Negro who had been schooled at Howard or Fisk and the ordinary field hand. Furthermore, the individuals who instrumented the segregationists' policy were seldom more qualified to vote, for instance, than those they refused. There is the old story about the Negro soldier returning to Mississippi and applying at the county seat for voting privileges. He was asked to recite the preamble to the Constitution of the State of Mississippi. He began, "Four score and twenty years ago," whereupon the clerk interrupted and said, "All right, smart darky, go on in and sign."

Senator Vardman, of Mississippi, once said, "I am just as opposed to Booker T. Washington as a voter, with all of his Anglo-Saxon reinforcements, as I am to the cocoanut-headed, chocolate-colored, typical little coon, Andy Dotson, who blacks my shoes every morning." Total humiliation, then, of the Negro became an American institution. The way of life became officially imbedded in the law after the Plessey-Ferguson decision of 1896 in which the Supreme Court stated that as long as Jim Crow facilities were equal, the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution was not violated.

But, as tragic as this all is, and as shameful, and as guilty as we feel, what can be done for the mistakes and blunders of our great-great-grandfathers? If your school is in

Roxbury, your classes are more than 50 percent Negro. Some children come from large, often unstable, family situations. They speak a particular patois, they eat out-of-the-ordinary foods, and, more often than not, they value clothes and cars more than books and the home. Such is the material that generations of spiritual genocide have produced. What can be done? Perhaps greasy hair is not to your taste. Perhaps you lose patience with dance fetishes, music fetishes, dress fetishes. Perhaps constant challenges to your authority leave you drained at the end of the day.

First of all, try to remember that a people deprived of their dignity will invent it, taking for the model the most ostentatious and flamboyant examples of success that the oppressor can offer. The poorer, the more frantic the need for symbols of success—cars, exaggerated coiffeurs. In a word, look with compassion on a people trying desperately to announce that they exist as breathing, bleeding humans.

Take for example, the young man who has pressed and lacquered his hair into some weird baroque design. For all his swaggering, he betrays himself as being unsure of his own racial beauty. He is, unknown to himself, saying that white standards of beauty, straight hair in this case, are in fact more desirable than his own tight curls. He has been convinced that the body into which he was born is hideous.

Now, on the other side, what even more peculiar thinking, what even more terrible secret fears, have attributed subhuman powers to an entire race? Why has the white race taken such thorough precautions to ward off the supersexuality of the Negro, which the white race invented in the first place? As James Baldwin has said concerning the almost legendary sister, "I don't really want to marry her, but if I did ask her I should think she would be able to say 'no' and end the entire discussion right there."

A partial answer to this elaborate fantasy of illogic can be found in a simple human failing; we tend to distrust that which we do not know. And racially we North Americans are descendants of the culturally isolated islands of England, Germany, Scandinavia. Italy, Spain, and Portugal, on the other hand, have been washed over with waves of racially different stock. The Romans absorbed Greek culture; the Iberians absorbed Moorish culture. Naturally, when the Spanish opened the new world, they brought with them a completely integrated way of viewing the races, for they had themselves been thoroughly enriched for over three centuries. North Americans, on the other hand, come from a closed, inbred society—Calvinists and Roundheads, Puritans and Quakers. The good citizens of Boston hanged Mary Dyer for her unorthodoxy; she was a a "Friend" (Quaker). So we in North America come from a people who were little exposed to racial differences and who poorly tolerated religious differences. Never having been exposed, they never knew strangers and, in their strangeness, they fell prey to ignorance and imagination.

Today's young Negroes know that they are not the shambling person we have called a "nigger." The word was an invention. And the problems are ours, not the Negroes'.

And so it is our problem. America struck its neck out and made promises. Citizenship was granted to Negroes regardless of previous condition of servitude. Are we going to redefine that sweeping statement and say the subject must be clean and have two Protestant children in a private school? Are we going to rescind the promise?

No, I think not. After we have examined our prejudices, we in this room must discover practical ways of fulfilling that faraway promise. The only history the Negro has is the American History. As Louis Lomax says, "Whatever the Negro is, he is an American. Whatever he is to become, integrated, unintegrated, or disintegrated . . . he will become it in America. The American Negro is angry about his plight, but not a single Negro doubts one day he will get his full freedom." Why have we tried to exclude him from it? There come to my mind any number of great American Negroes.

Harriet Tubman, the courageous slave who spent the greater part of her life working in the cause of abolition. Monuments to her memory . . . many in the form of settlement houses, now exist in many cities of the country, and one of them is right here in Boston. Frederick Douglass, who rose from slavery to become a marshal in the District of Columbia, Commissioner of Deeds, Minister to Haiti, and one of the most positive forces in the Abolitionist movement. Crispus Attucks, a runaway slave from Massachusetts, who was the first to shed his blood in the War of the Revolution. A monument to his memory stands in the Boston Common, and a marker of the spot where he died can now be found at the corner of State and Congress Streets. Peter Salem, one of the heroes of the battle of Breed's Hill, and Prince Hall, the Founder of the American Negro Masonic Order. The men of the famous 54th Massachusetts Volunteers, a Negro regiment which fought for the Union in the 1860's. Sojourner Truth, who selected her first name because of her resolution to travel to carry her message and her last name as an indication of the substance of her message. Paul Laurence Dunbar, who enriched the cultural aspect of his people with his poems "Black Like Me" and "Brown Baby." Matthew Benson, the first man to reach the North Pole because of Admiral Peary's disability. Benjamin Banneker, the surveyor of the Capital of the United States. Phyllis Wheatley, who published a little book of poems in 1784, the first Negro woman to publish, and the second female author in the country. George Washington Carver, born a slave, whose experiments with peanuts won him the respect of botanists all over the world.

Seeping through these few historical successes are the frustrations of millions of others. These neglected ones must find a way out of the subtle prison of conspicuous consumption and the God-shop brand of religion. Outside of the home, the teacher has the greatest and most lasting effect upon the growing child. The lessons he hears from the teacher and how they are delivered will influence his every inclination. If he is inspired and encouraged by the teacher, the chance is that he, too, will take his place, not as one to be tolerated under certain circumstances, but one convinced that opportunity is for all alike. The teacher is asked to take his place beside the social worker and the clergy and all the rest of us interested in what is right.

Business, advertising, and entertainment are meeting the challenge. It is not by accident that on the recent TV birthday party of Dick Van Dyke's son there were Negro children present. It is not by accident that the Boston Gas Company depicts Negro children at play in a home heated by their safe heat. It is no accident that airlines are hiring Negro stewardesses. It is no accident that much of the discussion during the meetings of the Ecumenical Council centered around the need for basic equality in all mankind. All of this helps to improve the Negro image of self.

The enemy is known. The complacency of past generations will not do. It has been said that this problem will be solved; we will either work it out ourselves, or it will solve itself in some unpleasant way. Each of us can contribute something to the cause. As teachers, you can re-establish a shattered racial ego. Tell your students about the great Ashanti empires on the West Coast of Africa and how they sailed out into the Atlantic, maybe even to the Caribbean, thousands of years ago. Tell them about the slaves' own efforts for freedom, about Nat Turner. If they know nothing but despair, tell them about Boston's contribution to freedom—William Lloyd Garrison. Single out worthy models for them, and know that you are breeding self-respect. Tell them they can achieve, and see that they do. Tell them that the color of their skin is no longer a threat to their security, and see that it is not. It is an awesome responsibility that falls to the teacher as he greets children coming from homes which for years have never known where the crippling blows came from.

Years ago my father-in-law, himself an educator, a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the Harvard Class of 1903, and President of Cheyney State Teachers' College, said it in a poem.

Lord, who am I to teach the way
To little children day by day
So prone myself to go astray?

I teach them knowledge, but I know
How faint they flicker and how low
The candles of my knowledge grow.

I teach them power to will and do
But only know to learn anew
My own great weakness through and through.

I teach them love for all mankind
And all God's creatures, but I find
My love comes lagging far behind.

Lord, if their guide I still must be,
Oh, let the little children see
The teacher leaning hard on Thee.

The future of all American youth depends on what he gets from you. If you are informed, he is informed. If you are not, he is not. As you see him, so he will see himself. As you mold his mind, so shall it develop. This makes the teacher's role most delicate and most strategic. You, as his teacher in the years when he is most impressionable, have a part in fulfilling the promise of 1776. America will be the better for it.

Testing the Culturally Disadvantaged Pupil

Roger T. Lennon

My talk, like those before it and those to come, deals with a particular aspect of this very complicated matter of how do we go about educating children in disadvantaged urban areas. Specifically, I am going to discuss briefly with you today the use of standardized tests in relation to the education of the "culturally disadvantaged"; and I am confident that there are few among you who do not have some awareness of the peculiarly sensitive role of testing in this context.

Testing is a controversial topic today. The past two years have seen criticism of the uses of tests more widespread and intense than at any time in my memory, which spans more than a quarter of a century in this type of activity. No little part of the criticism has had to do specifically and particularly with the use—or the abuse—of tests in the education of the culturally disadvantaged. My presence here today signalizes a healthy awareness on the part of the administration of the Boston schools of the existence of the problems in this area and a desire to look at them fully and frankly.

Coming as I do as one of the later speakers in this series of lectures, it would be superfluous for me to dwell at length on the nature and the dimensions of the problem of meeting the educational needs of those we term "culturally disadvantaged." I shall not even add my definition of "culturally disadvantaged" to those you have already heard; you know well enough the type of child with whom we are here concerned. By any reasonable definition the numbers and proportion of such children in the schools of Boston, as in the schools of every large city in this country, are formidable. By some estimates, in 1950, perhaps one pupil in ten in the fifteen major cities of the country might have then been considered "culturally disadvantaged"; by 1960 the proportion had risen to an estimated one in three; and by 1970, according to these analysts, one in every two pupils in the public schools of our fifteen large cities will be a representative of one of the so-called culturally deprived, culturally disadvantaged groups in our society. Exact figures as to the proportions are not important; even with a great deal of error in the estimates, it is perfectly clear that meeting the needs of these children must be regarded as our preeminent educational problem at the present time. It is so, first because of the fiercely urgent human need that we provide more fulfillment, more self-realization for these persons who have, for whatever reasons, been disadvantaged. We know from the changing pattern of occupations that increasingly the person who lacks education and marketable skills is going to be on the waste heap in our civilization. The proportion of jobs that do not require specialized training and educational attainment is shrinking. Unless we provide these children, as all of our children, with the fullest of educational opportunities, we are dooming them to a life that must be filled with frustration.

It is no wonder that Conant[1] warns us, as he does, that we are building "social dynamite" if we fail to provide the wherewithal for these disadvantaged youth to share in the benefits of our society.

But this problem presses upon us with another kind of urgency as well. We know beyond question that if we are to meet the anticipated requirements for professional workers of every kind—teachers, engineers, doctors, architects, lawyers, and for technically trained personnel for our increasingly automated industries—we must find the talent in the groups that are now our disadvantaged groups. We are getting from the upper third, perhaps from the upper half, of our students, all that we may reasonably expect, or almost all, of candidates to take over these more demanding professional occupations. We must devise the tools that will enable us to bring up from the presently culturally disadvantaged groups those who will fill the gaps and meet society's needs for highly skilled and highly trained personnel. So at both ends of the scale, whether our concern is with insuring for all the means of attaining minimum requirements for respectability and a modicum of success in our society, or whether we focus upon our needs for highly talented individuals, we must concentrate upon the resources that are to be found in these groups that now contribute so heavily to the lower 20 percent, 30 percent, or whatever the figure may be of our school population.

My mission today is to suggest to you some of the contributions that appropriate use of standardized tests can make to the discovery of talent, to the better diagnosis of learning difficulties, to the better guidance and adjustment of youth in these so-called culturally deprived groups. I shall talk first with respect to ability or aptitude tests, and secondly with respect to achievement tests. I shall, as I think I must, direct some of my attention to the serious questions that are raised as to the fairness of these tests to children from the disadvantaged groups.

Let me first consider with you ability or aptitude measures. What is their function in a program of pupil assessment, in the classification of pupils for improvement of learning? What is their special role, if any, in connection with the assessment of the abilities of culturally deprived pupils? The most common type of ability test is the one that we term an "intelligence" test, or sometimes a scholastic aptitude test, or a test of general mental ability. Why do we give such tests? We give them in schools chiefly so that we can have a better basis for grouping pupils according to their likelihood of success in mastering the work of the school, and I stress this last point for reasons that will become clear when I talk on the issue of the fairness of these tests. We give them to help the teacher establish reasonable goals for pupils, to know the level of performance and the rate of progress that she may reasonably expect of an individual youngster. We give them to help in the diagnosis of learning difficulties. If a child is experiencing difficulty in coping with the work of the class, the teacher wants to know why—and one possible reason is that he is not bright enough to cope with the work. We give these tests in the hope of discovering some talent or ability that is not manifesting itself in the child's school work or on achievement tests—for the content of most intelligence tests, or scholastic aptitude tests, is designed to be but little influenced by specific in-school instruction.

It is in connection with this type of test that the most serious questions are raised on the matter of fairness.

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[1] CONANT, JAMES, *Slums and Suburbs*. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1961.

The case against fairness, so to speak, goes like this:

It has been observed from the earliest days of intelligence testing that the average performance of children on tests of this kind varies systematically with their social or socioeconomic level. Children from professional families tend to do best, from managerial or semiprofessional backgrounds next best, and so on, with differences on the intelligence tests paralleling the socioeconomic level or the cultural level of the home. There is no one, as far as I am aware, who is disposed to question the fact that this is what you will find whenever you study the relation between average scores on the typical intelligence test and the social or cultural level of groups of children. Disagreement comes when we attempt to interpret the findings. Are they evidence that the tests discriminate against children from lower-class background, that they have a built-in middle- or upper-class bias? Or are the findings accurately descriptive of realities concerning the distribution of academic learning potential among members of groups of varying socioeconomic levels? Or are the findings susceptible of still other interpretations?

Those who see in these differences evidence of the unfairness of these tests are quick to point to the type of material in the tests as loaded against the underprivileged child. If one examines the typical intelligence test, he will see that it consists of a set of questions largely verbal in character, having a decided academic flavor and ordinarily including, in addition to the verbal material, numerical material that looks as if it depends somewhat on success in arithmetic learnings despite the test-maker's goal, mentioned above—that it depends very little on school instruction. Children from culturally deprived homes, by this line of reasoning, simply have not had an opportunity to learn the sorts of things that are covered in these intelligence tests. Therefore, one must expect that they are not going to do so well as the children from the more fortunate homes, where there are plenty of books, where there is an intense interest on the part of the parents in academic and verbal sorts of things. Yet, on the basis of performance on these tests, we proceed to label, or mislabel, the culturally deprived child as dull, or slow-learning, and pattern our instruction of him accordingly. All too often we use that result as a basis for curtailing the educational opportunities to be afforded this culturally disadvantaged youth, on the ground that he is lacking in the capacity to profit from them. This seems to me the essence of the charge of unfairness leveled at these tests for children from culturally deprived backgrounds.

Is the criticism a valid one? I think that there is no absolute answer. For my part, despite my obvious and necessary partisanship, I am in no wise disposed to dismiss it as having no validity. Any maker of a test that purports to be an intelligence test will readily admit, will indeed insist, that underlying assumptions in the interpretation of test performance as indicative of some hypothetical ability are: (1) that all examinees have had substantially equal opportunity to learn the kinds of things covered by the test and (2) that all examinees are equally motivated to do their best on the test. If these assumptions are not warranted, if there is either serious, notable, significant deprivation in background for one examinee relative to another, or marked difference in motivation from one examinee to another, it is impossible to interpret the performance of these two subjects in the same fashion. I think every responsible test-maker recognizes the possibility that certain tests may place a premium on types of background, or types of information, that are not possessed to the same degree by all examinees; there is thus a possibility that "intelligence," however we may define it, or "scholastic aptitude," or whatever we infer from the test performance, may be underestimated in the case of certain subjects whose backgrounds, especially with respect to exposure to verbal, numerical, academic types of content, are notably deficient, or who are not concerned to do well on the test.

Yet we must consider the purpose which such tests are intended to serve. Chief of these is the appraisal of the child's current readiness to cope with the academic tasks appropriate for his level. The better a test predicts this kind of success, the higher the correlation between it and school learning, then the better we must judge the test to be for this purpose. The fact is that the tests which are more prognostic of success in learning to read, to spell, to do arithmetic, are tests whose content is verbal and academic in character, such as the more widely used group intelligence tests. If these tests seem to favor the middle- or upper-class child, it is because they place a premium on types of abilities important for success in academic work. If there is a question of bias, it is in the nature of the tasks set by the school, and only secondarily in the tests.

The question that naturally comes to mind when one considers the unequal exposure examinees may have had to the content of ability tests is whether tests cannot be so constructed that differences in cultural backgrounds among examinees would have little or no effect on scores. Can we not have a "culture free" test? I give it as the judgment of most test experts that there have been no successful efforts to develop tests that have this property of culture-freeness; in fact, to most test specialists, the culture-free test seems an intrinsically unattainable goal. The even more modest goal of a "culture-fair" test, that would be as predictive of school success as our present tests, has thus far eluded us. I would be the last to discourage attempts at the production of tests that seek to minimize the effect of variations in cultural backgrounds without harmful consequences to the predictive utility of the scores; but I would be misleading you if I suggested that there is any imminent likelihood of the appearance of tests that will be all that we might want in this regard. Tests can be built that yield smaller differences among examinees from varying socioeconomic or cultural backgrounds, but these tests seem to measure characteristics that are less predictive of success in academic tasks. As far as the school is concerned, there is little point in using tests that are not relevant to the prediction or assessment of success in attainment of the goals of instruction as they exist at any given moment, however worthy, useful, or socially beneficial the qualities measured by such other tests may be.

Perhaps much of the confusion or error in the interpretation of the results of intelligence tests could be avoided by so simple an expedient as not applying the term "intelligence" to whatever it is the test measures. "Intelligence," for the man in the street and, indeed, even for professionals, carries connotations that are not sustainable in the application of the test score to an understanding of a child. Particularly, there persists a tendency to regard the score as an index of native endowment, and to ascribe to it a mystical constancy, or fixity—motions that the test-makers are the first to disavow. Why not regard a child's score on a mental ability test as merely the best index of his present state of readiness to cope with the classroom learning tasks and, as such, a vital guide in planning appropriate instruction?

Let me offer you an analogy that may help in evaluating this issue of test fairness. If we take a youngster who has suffered malnutrition over a period of years, who has not had the benefit of adequate health care, and put him on a scale, we may well discover that he is ten, or fifteen, or twenty pounds underweight. We do not then say the scale is biased because of the deprivation the child has suffered. We take this information as currently and accurately descriptive of an important fact about this child—a fact that can be used to his advantage in planning a program calculated to make up for the deficiencies in his earlier care. And if we do provide him with proper food and care, hopefully the scale will another time give us reassuring evidence of the success of our efforts. I suggest to you that this is the way of looking at a test score. The test is giving us a piece of information about a child's performance here and now, which information, if properly used, can be extremely helpful in planning the educational endeavors of the child.

To summarize then, my reaction to the charge that tests are unfair to the culturally disadvantaged: Yes—children of culturally deprived backgrounds may have had less exposure to, and be less interested in, the type of content of some ability and aptitude tests than others more fortunate, and they may do less well on the tests on this account. Such poorer performance may lead, and in some cases no doubt has led, to erroneous judgments about the potential, or native ability, of these children. But, this is not a defect nor a matter of any built-in bias of these tests, given the purpose which the tests are intended to serve. Test scores, like other information, are subject to misinterpretation; the remedy is not to dispense with the information, but to improve the understanding of its significance. Abandoning the tests is burning the barn to catch a mouse.

Considerably less controversial—indeed almost unexceptionable—is the use of achievement tests with culturally deprived youngsters, as with all other pupils. It is axiomatic that the school and the teacher must know the present status of each child, and the progress he is making, with respect to certain concrete goals of instruction. No one objects to measuring, as accurately as we know how, the level of attainment of a pupil, whatever his background, in basic reading abilities, in arithmetic, in English, in spelling, in history. As long as acquisition of these skills and knowledges is deemed a worthy goal for every child, we cannot escape the responsibility for finding out where every child stands. Without this information we are in no position to improve, or to focus more effectively, the efforts of the classroom teacher; neither can we evaluate the effectiveness of the educational program offered. We are, as someone has said, carrying on target practice in the dark if we do not avail ourselves of this kind of information. Whatever advantages or limitations a child brings to his school learning tasks, the school and the teacher still must be concerned with how successfully he is attaining the goals of instruction; and this is one of the contributions that the standardized achievement test makes, whether in the case of the culturally disadvantaged or the more fortunate pupil.

So, it is not the fact of the use of achievement tests with underprivileged children that need engage us this afternoon, but rather, perhaps, the manner of their use with such youngsters. I would, therefore, like to suggest to you two or three practical hints concerning ways of dealing with tests, of particular relevance to the needs of the culturally disadvantaged.

Here in Boston, much of the test selection is centrally done, but such central selection does not, it seems to me, preclude a responsibility on the part of each teacher to consider the appropriateness of any test, whether it is centrally chosen or chosen in the individual school, for the culturally deprived children. Is the test of suitable difficulty? Is the content of the test such as to motivate and interest and enliven, if you will, the test-taking task? Who, if not the classroom teacher, is in a position to judge these particular characteristics of tests? For heaven's sake, do not sit in silence if you are convinced that any test you are asked to give your pupils is inappropriate for them for whatever reason—the ones I have mentioned, or others that you would be aware of. Make this known. The persons who are responsible for test selection are not omniscient, any more than are the people who make tests. No one can know better than you, in the classroom, the details of the appropriateness of tests for your particular pupils. Share that information.

Secondly, let me say a word about test administration. I am not so naive as to believe that the average classroom teacher approaches the task of giving standardized tests with great enthusiasm and delight. The administration of these tests for most teachers, even those well disposed toward testing, is viewed as a kind of routine, perhaps not very exciting, part of her classroom duties; and by teachers who test only because they must, the administration may indeed be done in a spirit of resentment or at best grudging cooperation. May I suggest to you that such attitudes are particularly harmful with respect to children from culturally disadvantaged backgrounds and may well jeopardize the validity of their test results. These children need more evidences that society, as represented by the school and by the classroom teacher, cares about them; that the teacher, in administering a standard test, is not just imposing another barrier of little or no seeming significance or sense. The one thing that we are told again and again about the culturally deprived youngsters is that typically they are alienated from the ordinary school situation. The academic type of endeavor is not one that has a powerful appeal to them; often it appears they could not care less about what goes on in the classroom, including testing. Coping with this attitude has to be one of the preeminent tasks of the teacher, one that has to precede and accompany efforts at instruction, one that has to permeate the entire instructional effort. These pupils need to feel that the teacher is deeply concerned as to how well they do; that she wants first of all to have them do their best; that she wants this information only so that she can help them.

Finally, in the interpretation of test results of youngsters from culturally deprived backgrounds, you should have in mind exceptional cautions. I have already suggested the nature of such cautions and reservations. I have said that in some cases there is the virtual certainty that these examinees have not had the amount and kind of background that would enable them to cope on an equal footing with other examinees; they may not share the motivation to do well on the tests that better-circumstanced children acquire as a matter of course; they may be so distracted by home and family misfortunes as to be incapable of doing themselves justice on tests or in other school activities. I do not conclude, as do some of the critics, that we should therefore discontinue the use of tests with such children. I maintain that the information the tests give is none the less valuable, provided that the teacher, or whoever uses the tests, has in mind the necessary cautions and limitations, that he does not generalize from performance on a particular day, on a particular test, concerning such things as the native endowment of this youngster, his potential for success in college or a particular career, or in other ways go beyond warrantable inferences from the test score.

I have attempted to convey to you a feeling, a spirit, an attitude, more than anything else, about the use of tests with the disadvantaged child. I could have elected to dwell at length upon techniques, upon the skills of test selection, administration, and interpretation, for such competencies are deserving of attention and study. But perhaps, after all, they are less important in improving the use of tests with the culturally disadvantaged than the attitude, the spirit, with which one approaches the task. Standardized testing is, in a sense, a scientific, impersonal, disinterested approach to the study of children; but, even so, we may maintain in our conduct of testing, as in every contact with the disadvantaged children, an air of acceptance, of dedication, of wanting him to share to the full in what we have to give. A doctor's ministrations are no less effective, no less "scientific," if they are tendered with warmth, with genuine regard for the patient as a person. Classroom testing, by the same token, need lose none of its scientific, objective character if it is conducted in a spirit of concern for each pupil's welfare; indeed, in clinical testing, we consider the establishment of this rapport between examiner and subject as contributing to the validity of the test result.

The City of Boston and its people are no strangers to the problem of a minority group coming into a culture and an environment reluctant to accept them. Where should there be a better recollection and understanding of what a culturally deprived group needs and wants than in Boston? I need not remind you that out of a group which but a short three generations ago knew its period of cultural disadvantagement here in Boston came one who attained our nation's highest office. Let us all hope that in much less than three generations it will be possible to point to many representatives of the disadvantaged groups whose problems concern us today who shall have contributed in similar fashion to the welfare of the country, and the fulfillment of their own aspirations. Let it be your boast that in your teaching and in your testing you so comport yourselves as to hasten the day of full and rewarding participation in our society by these children we now call culturally deprived.

Education in Depressed Areas

A. Harry Passow

Editor: Inclement weather compelled the cancellation of Dr. Passow's lecture. With his permission, we are including in this brochure the last chapter of Professor Passow's authoritative book, ***Education in Depressed Areas***, which covers in depth the subject matter of Dr. Passow's lecture. (This book may be obtained from the Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University.)

The work conference united for two weeks two groups with a professional interest in the complex problems of education in centers, especially in their depressed areas.[1] One group, the conferees, consisted of "school people" with immediate and direct responsibility for operating programs effectively from day to day and for providing leadership for long-range educational planning. The second group, the speakers, included behavioral and social scientists disposed to separate from the aggregate of school problems those aspects they could study systematically. These specialists were asked to report research dealing with a particular phase of education in depressed urban areas, to present theoretical assumptions, and to confront the practitioners with the implications for educational planning. The hope was that such a bringing together of theorists and practitioners for two weeks of intensive interaction would generate, first, understanding of each other's concerns and ways of working, and, second, better formulation of problems and programs.

"Academic achievement and personal attitudes towards self and community—these focused much of the discussion. The most central questions were of this order: What are the significant differences between those students who do and those who do not achieve academically, have high educational and vocational aspirations, and conform to broad societal norms? What causes these differences? What will overcome the academic and other deficiencies which plague children and youth from depressed areas? What is the school's particular role of prevention and rehabilitation? There is the temptation to explain these differences solely in socioeconomic terms—middle-class children achieve, in general, at a higher level than lower-class children; teachers tend to be middle-class oriented, as is the curriculum of the school. However, the conference discussions rejected as too narrow and sterile an analysis which deals only with socioeconomic status, only with ethnic or racial minority status, or only with in-migration and urbanization as separate and dominant stands. Some general ideas emerged from the discussions, which seem basic to many other proposals or hypotheses.

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[1] **Editor:** In the summer of 1962 Assistant Superintendents Cunningham and Ruddy, along with teams of key administrators from twenty-four urban school systems, attended for two weeks at Columbia University this "work conference" conducted by Professor Passow on "Curriculum and Teaching in Depressed Areas."

Coordinated, Multi-Level Approaches Are Needed

Many images might clarify the various distinct, interrelated levels of involvement and social organization which offer explanations, plans, and programs for overcoming gaps in individual achievement and motivation. One possibility is to view the young learner as the bull's-eye of a series of concentric forces which influence his attainment. With the child at the hub, the concentric spheres might be these:

THE CHILD, with his genetic potential; his experiential background; his stage of intellectual, emotional, and personality development; his attitudes and values; his self-image and view of himself in relationship to others.

THE FAMILY of the child, as well as his other immediate primary (peer) groups; ethnic and racial group characteristics; newcomer or old resident; socioeconomic and educational level; family stability, including the absence or presence of positive male models or matriarchy; extent of acculturation to urban setting.

THE NEIGHBORHOOD in which the child and his family live; its religious, social, political, and economic characteristics; the nature of the housing available; the relationships with other neighborhoods in the city; the sense of social health.

THE SCHOOL AND THE CLASSROOM which the child attends; student population, staff, program; the resources available in implementing the program; teacher characteristics and expectations; curriculum goals; the school climate.

OTHER AGENCIES AND INSTITUTIONS active in the neighborhood and the larger urban setting, such as community centers, welfare agencies, health and medical facilities, public and private; personnel, programs, organizational characteristics; working relationships among institutions and agencies; power and decision-making forces.

CITY AND LARGER METROPOLITAN AREA—social, economic, and political characteristics; relationships among various units and divisions within the area; relationships with surrounding areas; effectiveness in solving problems.

LARGER REGIONAL, NATIONAL, AND INTERNATIONAL SETTING—social, political, economic characteristics; relation of its philosophy to local education goals and budgets.

Each of these major spheres is constructed of intricate details. For example, economic conditions depend on such factors as the labor market, discrimination in employment, availability of trained personnel, automation, industrial output, overall business developments, international conditions. The various levels are, of course, interrelated, somewhat mutually limiting and equally significant for planners, because the plans cannot be fully implemented by operations at any single level. For instance, classroom modifications by a single teacher may be futile unless supported by the climate of the school, the neighborhood, and the family.

Since planning and involvement take place at different levels, coordinated efforts are required of many groups, agencies, and institutions. There are limits to the possible impact of a program at any level if that program ignores the multidimensions of the problems of urban life. Several papers emphasized the need for integrated planning aimed at altering the conditions in the school, the home, the community, and the urban area as a whole, involving health, educational, social, economic, political, and religious agencies and institutions in the process. This idea of "multiphase approach" does not mean that smaller, more restricted efforts are doomed to failure, but, rather, that such plans must be weighed realistically in terms of their potential.

The Health and Welfare Council of the Baltimore Area sees the implications for action to capitalize on the total resources of the community as follows:

> . . . it will require a comprehensive and coordinated approach rather than a piecemeal attack.
>
> . . . it must envision experimentation, integration, self-analysis, and innovation as well as coordination and intensification of existing services.
>
> . . . while leadership must come from those agencies which offer direct services to people, successful prosecution will require wide community support and commitment.
>
> . . . if real impact upon serious community problems is to be made, the effort must be carried beyond the area and time of a single demonstration.

Differentiation Between Preventative and Remedial Programs

Throughout the conference it was emphasized that in the search for factors that influence achievement, distinctions need to be made between practices which are primarily preventative and developmental and those which are essentially compensatory and remedial. For example, at the junior high school level, academic retardation may be so severe that programs must be mainly remedial in nature, to compensate for past school failures. With the younger child in nursery, in kindergarten, or even first grade, measures are more likely to be preventative in nature, designed to prepare the pupil for school achievement and the avoidance of remedial procedures. The philosophy behind a program—prevention or remedy—affects the points of emphasis, the methods to be used, the organizational arrangements, and the levels of involvement.

The preventative aspects imply modifications and adaptations of programs and services to help the child hurdle his educational handicaps, cultural limitations, inarticulateness, short attention span, underdeveloped abstract-thinking abilities, lack of motivation for academic success, and similar deprivations that hobble a child's scholastic development. Unless steps are taken to compensate for these shortcomings, retardation and failure inevitably will raise a demand for remedial projects. Because success in reading and other language arts constitutes the key to academic progress, most programs stress methods, materials, special personnel, and other audio-visual and guidance services to improve the verbal and other basic skills.

Remedial services have many different aspects. Most familiar is remedial reading instruction for pupils who lack facility in this field. Reading clinics may be established for the diagnosis and treatment of severe reading disabilities. Special service personnel of many different kinds may work either with children or with classroom teachers. For example, the New York City system assigns to schools in depressed urban areas teacher-specialists in remedial reading, science, mathematics, and core curriculum, guidance specialists, teacher trainers, Puerto Rican coordinators, behavior attendance counselors, and substitute auxiliary teachers (Spanish-speaking teachers who aid the regular classroom teachers with English instruction). Dade County, Florida, employs a team of a certificated American teacher and two bilingual Cuban refugee teacher aides to work with approximately sixty Cuban-born youngsters whose English is too limited for the regular classroom.

Similarly, New Haven has appointed "helping teachers" who are relieved of some of their regular teaching assignments to provide leadership for a teaching team to work with a specific group of students. The helping teacher works with other teachers in the development of materials and methods of instruction. These programs illustrate how supplementary personnel can aid in upgrading reading achievement by improved instruction and remedial assistance.

The Quincy, Illinois, program of enrichment in the primary grades is essentially preventative in intent. It seeks to determine whether more time with a single teacher, an extended kindergarten day, and work with parents will make a difference, especially in reading and in attitudes toward school. Will such a program reduce the number and severity of behavioral problems, preferably before they become delinquency? Many children see themselves as failures, thanks to early defeat in school. The lethargy, negative self-image, and loneliness patterns lead to further failure and eventually hostility, escapism, and aggression as the child grows older. At the kindergarten-primary level, the problems are perceived as lack of those success experiences which contribute to positive self-concepts. Early thwarting of deficiencies, it is hypothesized, may avoid the need for remedial services later.

Building Early Readiness for School Work

Several papers focused on the need for programs to develop certain intellectual, language, and learning traits in children to help them anticipate and handle school tasks. Professor Deutsch emphasized the factors in the preschool milieu which sentence the lower-class, deprived child of impoverished family to almost certain initial failure. Thus, the negative concept of school is reinforced. Professor Goldberg suggested that the school may be the most accessible place to breach this circular negative-reinforcement process and to compensate for the ineptness toward learning.

Action guides emerged as follows: Early intervention programs, such as nursery and prekindergarten classes, day-care centers, and similar preschool arrangements should aim to promote readiness for formal school instruction. School-centered compensatory activities, from nursery through primary grades, would provide experiences generally absent from the home and neighborhood of disadvantaged children. These would attempt to offset the experiential poverty that affects what Deutsch calls the "formal, contentual, and attitudinal systems" of the child. Educators would adapt school programs, materials, teaching methods, and organization to differences in children's learning styles and cultural expectations, rather than treating all differences as handicaps and deficiencies. Various curriculum modifications aim at broadening the child's experiential base and increasing his ability to express himself verbally. Parents should be involved in an educational program beamed at a higher level of home management and child care, at increasing the parent's desire and skills for enriching the background of the child with a minimum of disruption of ongoing family life. Direct help will be channeled through preschool curricula, possibly through increased use of educational television and other media for communicating with busy parents.

To sum up, promising ways of overcoming immaturity are embodied in enriched preschool and kindergarten activities designed to develop auditory and visual discrimination, verbal expressive ability, sustained attention, observation skills, ability to follow directions, and a generally receptive learning style. Beyond this stage, the follow-up in primary years must feature study and experimentation with revised methods for teaching reading; increased use of different materials; emphasis on verbal and symbolic experiences; small group and individualized instruction; adaptation of methods to different learning styles. Such programs may require postponement of formal instruction in favor of developing learning-how-to-learn skills and motivation for successful achievement in reading and arithmetic. The need for preschool education of both children and parents is quite clear; the structure of such programs is not quite so clear. Preventative programs rich in materials, day-care centers or publicly supported nursery schools, early school attendance, parent education programs, and similar efforts would demand either multiagency coordination or a drastic expansion of present school functions. To be resolved would be the problems of funds and facilities, plus recruiting and training personnel whose roles would contrast with those of present teachers.

Speeding Acculturation to Urban Life

Professor Ravitz pointed out the cultural differences between recent in-migrants and established city residents and the consequent cultural conflicts. Just as the reasons for the various waves of immigration in the past varied, so the impetus for migration from rural areas to cities varies. Speaking of Southern Appalachian migrants, Porter pointed out that while they are white, native, Protestant Americans of several generations' standing, they are still different "in speech, in dress, in culture, in habits and mores, in education, in social status, in work experience, and in health." The impact of the required adjustments may subject such a family to "cultural shock" as grim as any foreigner's.

Rural-urban migration breeds one set of problems; race and nationality create others. Ausubel maintained that ego development among segregated Negroes suffers from "differences in interpersonal relations, in opportunities for and methods of acquiring status, in prescribed age, sex, class, and occupational roles, in approved kinds of personality traits, and in the amount and type of achievement motivation that are socially sanctioned for individuals of a given age, sex, class, and occupation." The psychological, emotional, attitudinal, aspirational unity of the child who grows up in the depressed area—what has been called the "slum complex"—enters the classroom. But, there are other behavioral aspects of children from depressed areas—the realities of life have matured him faster in certain respects; he may be more vigorous and spontaneous in expressing his emotions; his language may be more colorful, if less grammatical; and he may have learned the strengths which come from group support and cohesiveness.

How can the school contribute most effectively to the urbanization of the new arrival? How can it acculturate the lower-class child — teach him middle-class skills so that he can cope with the problems of living and earning a living in the middle-class-dominated city? Two answers come from Wilmington and New York. The Wilmington Public Schools project has highlighted human relations in terms of diagnostic techniques and instruments to help children understand and develop skills as group members. The focus of classroom activities has been on helping children develop concepts about family, neighborhood, groups, and community as a basis for improved behavior in social situations. The five-year Puerto Rican Study in New York City created for teachers published guides and resource units which melded learnings about living in the city with the traditional basic skills required for success in school.

Changing the School and Neighborhood Climates

Professors Havighurst and Wilson both examined the effects of social class composition of the school neighborhood on the behavior of both the students and teachers. Both agreed that predominantly lower-class neighborhoods produce schools in which children achieve less well and have lower aspirations, both educationally and vocationally. Havighurst argued that students of the sociology and psychology of education concur that "the fact of attending a lower-class school does have something to do with the lower academic achievement of the pupils from that school." Wilson presented evidence of lower-class areas and described some of the impact of school climate as it affected the attitudes of students and their aspirations. Havighurst, concluding that neighborhoods with too low a "status ratio" (that is, too small a proportion of middle-class to lower-class children) tend to produce inferior results, suggested that planners do more to develop all-class communities and mixed-class schools. Some individuals accepted this documented evidence, but expressed caution about the propriety and the possible consequences of the school's attempting to alter these conditions.

The school may choose from several courses of action, making drastic internal improvements to enable itself to function as a lever for upgrading the standards of the area as a whole, or serving as the catalyst for "social urban renewal." Perhaps an excellent illustration of the former approach is the Banneker Group schools of St. Louis, under the leadership of Dr. Samuel Shepard, Jr., assistant superintendent. Dr. Shepard administers the twenty-three elementary schools in one of the city's most depressed areas with a population 95 per cent Negro. Except for four "borrowed" teachers who help prepare materials and charts and who participate in the guidance aspect, the Banneker program operates without extra personnel or financial resources. In a sense, Banneker is not a program but rather a continuing challenge to the entire community — children, parents, teachers, administrators, and others — to strive to do better because they are capable of doing better now.

By literally saturating the district with parent meetings, communications of all kinds, and radio programs, Dr. Shepard has influenced significantly the community's attitudes toward the importance of education and toward understanding the need for higher school achievement. In each school, assemblies, contests, field trips, and radio programs (including a mythical character named "Mr. Achiever") urge children to attend regularly and to work for higher accomplishments. Beginning with the signing of a "Parent's Pledge of Cooperation," parents are advised how to help their children schedule homework time, how to provide proper facilities and atmosphere for home study, how to "get tough" about finishing homework. "Hints for Helpful Parents" itemizes suggestions for parents. Children in the area are surrounded by the motto "Success in School Is My Most Important Business," with achievement charts for extra reminders. Nonschool agencies allot homework time in their programs. Teachers are instructed to "stop teaching by the IQ score," to abandon their attitudes of condescension toward the children, to keep standards high, and to help the children attain high standards. Even the area merchants are enlisted; they discourage loitering and truancy during school hours and display educational materials.

Anything that will inculcate a respect for learning, enhance pride in academic achievement, boost morale of students and staff, and alert children and parents to new opportunities for Negroes is viewed as worth trying.

Under the charismatic, dedicated leadership of Dr. Shepard, the schools have become the antidote for some of the defeatism of slum living. No administrative means are used to integrate the schools racially or alter the status ratio of middle-class to lower-class students. Instead, the program operates on the premise that educationally qualified individuals will find work and, therefore, a socioeconomic upgrading as well.

New Haven's Opening Opportunities Program involves five large-scale renewal projects which will include replacement of the city's fourteen oldest school buildings. The rebuilding involves relocation, homemaking, education, and housing programs aimed at promoting social goals. Community schools, operating twelve to fifteen hours a day on a year-round basis, serving all races, creeds, and classes, will be the instruments for an integrated and total approach to neighborhood needs. The school's basic roles will multiply, becoming those of an educational institution for children and adults; a neighborhood center for leisure and recreational activities; headquarters for community services such as health clinics, family and employment counseling, legal aid and other social and welfare services; and a focus of neighborhood life for confronting and resolving problems.

New York City's Commission on Integration recommended that one cardinal consideration in the selection of a site for a new school building be its effect on preserving or promoting ethnic and racial integration. Other criteria follow, such as "distance, topological features, transportation to existing school plant and pupil population destiny," plus other fiscal and real property considerations. Population shifts and neighborhood changes—rapid and unpredictable—retard integration in elementary schools, particularly in the fringe areas. The "open enrollment" plan, wherein youngsters from schools with heavy concentration of Negro and Puerto Rican children are transported to predominantly white, middle-class schools, is still being assessed in terms of its effects on both sending and receiving schools. Professor Goldberg's paper indicated that, from the little evidence available, the gain one expects from unsegregated contacts is not automatic.

What is the critical status ratio or "toppling" point in the proportion of advantaged to disadvantaged children — in-migrant, racially different, lower-class — above which school and/or neighborhood climate changes? What are the crucial factors operating? Are efforts at changing the social composition of a school and neighborhood more promising than efforts aimed at changing only the educational program? While the regional high schools Professor Havighurst recommends are probably easier to set up than integrated elementary schools, is the secondary school too late to overcome the effects from a lower-class, segregated school in a depressed area? In his paper Dr. Fischer argued against a school system organized primarily on racial criteria; he would provide for maximum free choice for all children, limited only by unnecessary overcrowding. Dr. Fischer was disturbed by "the growing pressure to locate schools, draw district lines, and organize curricula in order to achieve a predetermined racial pattern of enrollment." The consequences of alternative approaches on children, families, staff, and community require further study.

Curriculum Modifications Are Essential

The academic performance of children from depressed areas, so marked by scholastic retardation, demands curriculum reappraisal in depth. To begin, a thorough analysis of educational goals can determine their appropriateness for disadvantaged children and youth. Does "equal educational opportunity" change its meaning when linked to the concept of compensatory services and experiences? To what extent would these children's needs for acculturation to urban life affect the curriculum objectives? What unique aspects of urban life lend themselves to the curriculum as resources? Are goals dealing with personal and family life; with basic citizenship and social skills; with understandings of the cultural, political, social, and health frameworks more urgent for the disadvantaged child than for the middle-class child?

Americans generally resist the notions of different education for different classes, of education as the gateway to socioeconomic mobility, of class barriers to educational opportunity. And yet the idea of equal educational opportunity, the desire that all children "with their human similarities and their equally human differences shall have educational services and opportunities suited to their personal needs and sufficient for the successful operation of a free democratic society" remains a commitment for the public schools. Such an ideal of individualized instruction implies recognition and acceptance of variations in both ability and needs among the public school population.

If, despite the normal spread of educational ability, large numbers of children are not achieving, are not learning the basic skills required for academic success, are failing to develop their talents to the fullest, then educators must not lower the goals or write off blocks of children as nonachievers. McClelland, discussing the approaches used to identify gifted students, suggests that far too much emphasis has been put on talent potential as a fixed attribute. Instead, "talent potential may be fairly widespread, a characteristic which can be transformed into actually talented performances of various sorts by the right kinds of education." Developing an understanding of "the right kinds of education" is basic to helping youngsters from depressed areas realize the objective of equal opportunity. The aspects of the educational program that are being modified, studied, or tested are many, affecting all levels and all elements of curriculum.

Preschool and Early Childhood Programs

Assuming that kindergartners' learning suffers from early impoverishment in verbal and cognitive experiences, preschool programs for 3- and 4-year olds are being tested. Richer than the usual nursery school activity, the curriculum aims to develop cognitive and sensory motor skills, auditory and visual perception and discrimination, motor coordination, observation skills, and ability to understand and follow directions. The coordination of verbal experiences and enrichment activities seeks to raise the motivation for school achievement and to enhance the learning-how-to-learn skills. In some instances an accompanying program for mothers promotes home management and child care, as well as understanding of the educational enterprise.

Content Modifications

Because the school program has such high verbal content—indeed, the child's success depends on his mastery of fundamental communication and linguistic skills—the development of reading competence and related language skills is of prime concern. A variety of techniques for teaching pupils to read are employed, including experimentation with methods, materials, groupings, and special personnel. Reading improvement teachers are used in some school systems to apply early diagnosis and corrective services. For those youngsters for whom English is a second language, special materials and techniques are being developed.

New emphasis in the elementary school is also found in such projects as Wilmington's project for schools in changing neighborhoods which stresses deepening insights and skills in human relations as a supplement to academic skills. Specific methods appropriate to the program's objectives include role playing, open-ended stories, use of film and other aids for human understanding, utilizing community resources for curriculum trips.

Special modifications have been made for potential school leavers. Among these, work-study programs, in which youth are placed and supervised in part-time jobs, are widely used. The employment experiences are then dovetailed with work-oriented English, social studies, mathematics, and guidance experiences. The work-study approach is seen by some school systems as "an alternative pathway to adulthood" beginning with youth aged thirteen and fourteen.

The perimeters of a program which would capitalize on the educational resources of the city, without curtailing opportunities or drive for achievement, are still unclear. There are healthy elements, for example, in social studies programs which focus on urban life, which use the cultural resources of the city, and which contribute to enhancing self-image through understanding the contributions of various ethnic and racial groups to American life and culture. New York City offers family living education, as so many youngsters lack security of a sound family life and its precedents in facing their adult responsibilities. Other approaches to using the city as an educational resource include discovery of the community's social service needs and volunteer service to others.

Probably in no area of curriculum is a question so often begged as are these: What knowledge, skills, and attitudes should be acquired by youngsters in depressed areas? How do these differ from the general objectives of public school programs? How can sequence, continuity, and articulation be structured for a highly mobile population? Programs in the category of so-called "basic" or "general" mathematics or "consumer" English are being increasingly questioned. However, for certain students, what alternatives are better? Not all students can or should be studying nuclear physics or fourth-year Latin, but the fact that one lives in a depressed area should not cause him to be guided automatically into vocational preparation for semiskilled or unskilled work. As one participant put it, in developing curriculum for depressed area children, we tend to underestimate their intellectual potential and to overestimate their experiential background. Programs which open up intellectual opportunities, which are meaningful, and which are seen as contributing to both immediate and long-range development must be developed for children in depressed areas.

Curriculum Enrichment

Perhaps the most widely known enrichment program is the Higher Horizons Program of New York City, now being adapted in numerous other communities. The program encourages those identified as the most able students in schools in low socioeconomic, culturally deprived neighborhoods to develop their potential more fully and to climb to higher educational and vocational levels. Among its several aspects are remedial and enrichment services in reading, mathematics, and a foreign language; clinical services (psychological, psychiatric, and social work); a cultural enrichment program (concerts, plays, films, athletic events, field trips to colleges, hospitals, industrial plants); parent education meetings and interviews; a public information program for the community at large. Evaluation of Higher Horizons and its variations suggests positive results in such areas as reading achievement, school grades, pupil morale, improved staff morale, and enhanced motivation. However, the studies raise prickly questions as well as providing answers. The need for isolating those aspects and factors which influence the program—aside from the charismatic qualities of the principal—has been noted. Whether improved instruction outweighs enhanced motivation or whether both are indispensable is unknown. Whether the enriched experiences are effective with a particular kind of child only is not known. Which facet of the program contributes which net gain is still not clear. As one conferee commented, to raise these questions is not to deprecate the Higher Horizons Program but rather to determine whether "a well-planned program of social and cultural experiences plus an improved educational program can significantly upgrade the educational achievement and aspirations of a substantial number of youngsters from deprived areas or just a small core." To date, the emphasis has tended to be on those youngsters who are identified as the most promising and able.

Improved Instructional Materials

A great deal has been said about the need for creating instructional materials for both pupils and teachers which strike a spark in the learner from a narrow cultural background. The major objections to much of the existing material for reading instruction, for example, are its so-called middle-class bias and its overall blandness. Instructional materials need to be interesting, exciting, and tempting for children from depressed areas. What kinds of materials, as one participant put it, will get these children mentally out of the squalor and poverty, the imprisonment, of their home environment and brighten their self-images? Out of their urban setting some teachers have produced materials which reflect easily-recognized experiences of the children in their charge. Now available is a set of materials which weaves everyday living into reading-improvement worksheets. How to make sound purchases, how to find one's way around the neighborhood, and how to apply for a job are some of the topics treated. Functional content which deals with personal care, vocational orientation, and similar concerns seems promising. The possibilities of programmed instructional material—such as its aptness for individualized instruction, its manipulative qualities, its self-pacing—are being explored for direct teaching-learning as well as for remedial purposes. The uses of various kinds of audio-visual and manipulative materials are being expanded.

School Organization and Classroom Modifications

Techniques of developing divergent thinking abilities of inarticulate youngsters indicate another trend in instructional emphasis. The emphasis is on encouragement of children to think outside the conventional verbal channels and to use intuitive thinking, curiosity, exploration, and guessing rather than memorized rote verbal responses.

Some schools are experimenting with team teaching arrangements of various kinds as well as block time arrangements. Ungraded primary units are being tested as to their effects on disadvantaged children. Pittsburgh's Team Teaching Project is designed to cope with the problems of "excessive mobility of population served, a high rate of teacher turnover, and the depressing cultural and socioeconomic conditions in some of the areas from which their pupils come." By using different-sized teaching teams to work with classes and groups of various sizes, by drawing on personnel resources from the community, educational experiences are being extended and brought to life. Some instruction takes place in groups of seventy to one hundred and twenty pupils; elsewhere, small groups of five to fifteen concentrate on subjects in which they require special help or have unusual ability. Varying in purpose and emphasis, four kinds of teaching teams have been organized for the primary, intermediate, special subject, and junior high school areas. A mental health team enrolls a psychiatrist, two psychiatric social workers, two school social workers (home and school visitors), a clinical psychologist, and a research consultant. This team has been organized for the early identification and referral for therapy of children with emotional and social handicaps which inhibit their learning. Finally, social agencies, educational and religious institutions, civic and welfare organizations, and governmental units help provide personnel, facilities, and funds which complement and undergird the educational effort.

The ungraded primary unit and its offshoots gear their pace to individual ability, in an effort to insure continuous progress for a child or at least to reduce the trend of failure for the youngster who moves haltingly. The unit generally treats the first through third grades as a block with grade lines eliminated, so that the youngster may spend as few as two or as many as four years in the primary grades, progressing as he is able to, without being retarded.

Diagnostic and Remedial Programs

Like the Pittsburgh Mental Health Team, programs are being initiated in other cities to diagnose learning difficulties as early as possible in order to help prevent handicaps or disabilities. New York City's Early Identification and Prevention Program, for instance, typifies efforts to identify, as early as possible, children with problems of emotional or social adjustment. Here again, a functioning team aims to clarify the scope and nature of the child's problems and to foster the kind of mental health, educational climate, counseling, and treatment services that will reduce potential incidents. Prime attention is for children with reading problems; diagnostic procedures refer such youngsters to various clinics and agencies. Lack of adequate facilities in school and community, which aggravate the urgent need for more remedial services in all curriculum areas, is a need recognized by educators in most cities. Most pressing, perhaps, are the reading and special programs, such as additional classes for disturbed youngsters who can only remain in school if special assistance and instructional arrangements are made.

Reading clinics are available in many cities for youngsters who are too retarded to be helped either by the classroom teacher or by supplementary reading personnel. Staffs usually include selected teachers functioning as reading counselors, plus a clinical team consisting of psychologist, social worker, and psychiatrist. In New York City, to be referred to such clinics, children must be of normal intelligence although severely retarded in reading.

Additional Staff

Extra personnel are being assigned to schools to help children, classroom teachers, school administrators, and parents; to increase remedial and diagnosis activities as well as referrals; and to work with home and community agencies. Some of the special personnel found in the schools of New York City, for instance, include these:

Reading Improvement Teacher—relieves the classroom teacher for reading instruction, assists new and probationary teachers with reading instruction methods and materials, assumes responsibility for classes in schools where teachers have had to forego full lunch periods.

Other Teaching Personnel—provide remedial reading help in schools with large groups of non-English-speaking pupils; teach English as a second language to small groups of children in part- or full-time classes.

Non-English-Speaking Coordinator—helps other teachers improve the learning techniques and general adjustment of non-English-speaking pupils.

Substitute Auxiliary Teacher—links the school with the home, particularly of non-English-speaking pupils.

Junior Guidance Teacher—instructs children with normal intelligence who reveal patterns of serious social or emotional adjustment; works with psychologist and guidance specialist to determine whether the child can be helped or needs to be institutionalized.

Teacher of Children with Retarded Mental Development (CRMD)—works with small units of mentally retarded children in a self-contained classroom.

Teacher-Trainer—works with newly appointed or probationary teachers on a helping-teacher basis.

Detroit has added coaching teachers to support the work of the regular teachers by their extensive diagnostic, remedial, and developmental work in the language arts and arithmetic; full-time visiting teachers (school social workers) to diagnose and refer pupils and their parents for aid from appropriate agencies and specialists; school-community agents to provide liaison between the school and its community, parents, other adults and agencies. Other cities have increased available personnel for specific services for children in depressed areas, services which are usually of compensatory or remedial nature.

Extension of School Day

Schools in depressed areas have long served as neighborhood recreation and leisure-time centers. Some school systems are going beyond the usual after-school recreation programs and are providing places for individual and group study, reading and science centers, cultural enrichment centers. The after-school program is viewed as more than day-care or custodial activities and, instead, presents schools with enrichment centers for children and youth, as well as adults. The community-school concept — using the school plant for coordinated community services with programming from early morning to late evening, seven days a week, twelve months a year — is extending into depressed areas more and more.

In New York City the Mobilization for Youth Homework-Helper Project employs high school youth from low-income families as tutors for elementary school youngsters with academic problems. The tutor is paid on an hourly basis, which yields a small income for after-school work. Selected grade-school pupils attend after-school tutoring sessions on a one-to-one basis. The high school students are trained for the work and are supervised by adult teachers. The high school tutors are not expected to provide remedial help but they do contribute the extra reassurance, support, and immediate impetus for helping elementary schoolers with their studies, especially in the language arts area. The program has the dual virtues of recognizing and rewarding concretely high school students who are achieving and of helping culturally disadvantaged children with their school work.

After-school programs will continue to feature recreational and informal pursuits, civic meetings, and performances of various kinds, but the expansion of these into culturally enriching activities will enable some youngsters to escape from the slum society into the centers for support, entertainment, instruction, and social intercourse.

Extension of School Year

Several kinds of programs are lengthening the school year. One is a schedule change using a 12-month program with all of the implied modifications in staffing, programming, and facility use. Widespread is the practice of schools operating summer programs and camps. The summer school may be an extension of the normal academic program to enable youngsters either to make up for past deficiencies or to enjoy advanced work or other forms of enrichment. Normally, students at the elementary school level are invited to attend without credit, marking, or formal examination but rather to experience educational growth. The primary objective of summer-school programs in the depressed areas is more usually that of enrichment and remediation. The atmosphere can be less formal, particularly if advantage is taken of day-camp possibilities for school activities. Here the program can be enriched within and outside of the building, drawing heavily on the camping approach. Some school systems are operating summer residence camps for youngsters from depressed areas as a means of getting them away from the city and from disadvantaged neighborhoods. A low-cost camping program and outdoor recreational experiences are combined with academic and educational opportunities in such arrangements.

Extended Guidance and Student Personnel Services

Increased guidance and counseling services are found mushrooming in many depressed area schools. Team approaches to working directly with youngsters on a counseling or therapy basis are involving guidance specialists, social workers, psychologists, and classroom teachers. Often, services are being extended to the family to help parents better understand the educational program and their own children's behavior and achievement. Guidance services have been scheduled for the evening hours and summer months to make them more readily available to depressed area families. Nonschool people with competencies in particular vocational or professional areas are supplementing the more traditional guidance services. Student personnel services are one of the prime areas in which diagnostic and counseling services are being extended to reduce clinical needs of youngsters from depressed areas.

Work-Study and Continuation Programs

Keeping youngsters in school so that they do not join the dropout statistics is no longer viewed as an adequate goal by most school systems. Instead, secondary schools are attempting to develop retention programs which are meaningful, which are perceived as contributing to the youth's personal and vocational goals. An illustration of the concentrated efforts in New York City to retain high school students is found in the Youth Achievement Program. Boys with records of truancy, poor behavior, and academic failure are grouped together under the full-time guidance of an experienced, sympathetic teacher. Besides two regular-program classes, the boys attend a two-period class with their special teacher, who uses curriculum materials designed for the group. In the afternoon they work at part-time jobs for private employers with the special teacher responsible for job placement, job visitation, and contact with the home. Their curriculum materials emphasize job orientation and preparation for adult responsibilities.

Work-study programs, by giving equal importance to academic achievement and work skills, increasingly are viewed as the means for secondary schools to hold youngsters with meaningful, gainful experiences. Particularly important for alienated youth, this practice is catching on also for preventive programs. The Detroit Upgrading Program provides a short-term work experience for out-of-school unemployed youngsters, combined with in-school instruction. Other projects modify school programs to combine continuation of academic work with pre-employment instruction. Such programs equip youngsters with information about work tasks and training standards and aims at stimulating the academic achievement prerequisite to job success. Courses include work samplings, trips to plants and stores, and classroom visits by local employers. The field trips are designed to launch discussions about training demands, rewards, opportunities, and personal satisfactions. There is close scrutiny of the role of trade unions and various legal and quasi-legal organizations whose purpose it is to upgrade workers and eliminate discriminatory practices.

Work explorations, on-the-job training, subsidized work experiences are all being arranged along with programs to convince youth of the need for education. Efforts are being made to offer a climate conducive to more school for the dropouts, at least on a part-time basis. The 16-21-year-old group is particularly critical; thus, the posthigh-school technical training and job retraining are both seen as promising practices. Basic education for individuals with technical skills but threadbare educational qualifications represent another facet of school retention or continuation efforts.

Parent Education Programs

The need for interpreting to parents the school program and its stress on educational achievement and motivation has resulted in the transfer of some parent education programs from school to home and neighborhood. School systems have found parents of children in depressed areas indifferent and apathetic, rather than hostile to education. Frequently, such parents are uncomfortable in the presence of a teacher or a person who represents authority. Many would be glad to have their children achieve, but—having had little formal schooling themselves—they know little about the whole process or how they can assist. Some school systems are attempting to reach parents by informal, apartment-house-based programs rather than the formal, structured, parent-association approach. These programs seek to help parents directly and practically with their day-to-day problems and to avoid dealing with general discussion about child care.

New Methods of Instruction

Relatively little research has sought to pinpoint methods that reach culturally disadvantaged youth. Many kinds of reading instruction methods are being tested for their contribution to developmental and corrective needs of children in depressed area schools. However, little is known about what methods will contribute to a more trusting relationship between pupil and teacher, will provide for variety and motility, will modify the need for immediate gratification, will contribute to overcoming the specific learning disabilities of depressed area children. The particular teaching procedures that influence classroom climate have not been clearly seen as yet. Experience has shown that some teachers succeed better than others with pupils in disadvantaged areas. It would be invaluable to know more about the constellation of forces which contribute to this differential success. How much is due to personality, including the ability to be supportive and accepting, imaginative and creative? Is "middle-class oriented" teaching necessarily a negative factor or can it effect growth positively? How does the teacher reach the hard-to-reach youngster? Study may yield some leads to methods, tempo or pacing of instruction, attention span, involvement, and emphasis on different sensory modes as they affect pupil attainment and drive.

Coordinated Efforts Among Youth-serving Agencies

The duplication of effort, overlapping of services, lack of coordination, and failure to share information continue to plague various social and welfare agencies in many a community — particularly in depressed areas. Several projects are using the school as the catalyst for coordinating efforts amongst the educational, social, municipal, and service agencies.

In-service Teacher and Staff Training

Almost every educational upgrading program involves some kind of in-service training of teachers to equip them to meet the challenge of working in depressed areas. These training sessions may aim at wakening the teacher's sympathy and understanding of the cultural heritage, economic and social problems, and individual life styles of pupils in depressed areas. Beyond that, in-service programs attempt to help the teacher directly with methodology, subject matter, instructional resources, methods, classroom management, and the availability of special services in depressed areas. The potential rewards and personal and professional satisfactions which come from working with disadvantaged children are stressed.

In Conclusion

The multidimensions of the problems of education in depressed areas and the various efforts to give meaning to the ideal of equality of opportunity demand unclouded perspective, a prophet's eye for planning, and a predilection for the larger context. The above listing of various efforts to improve education and life in depressed areas represents a sampling only and is neither comprehensive nor qualitatively selective. They simply illustrate the many ways to attack the complex and crucial problem. Agreeing that more and better research and experimentation are needed, the social and behavioral scientists will certainly be increasing the production of studies and their complexity. Educationally, the gaps are awesome in our understanding of the factors whose total is cultural deprivation and its consequences. What are the effects of various social and psychological factors on the attitudes of different groups toward the schools and toward education? The importance of looking at the problem in terms of its educational, sociological, psychological, economic, political, health, welfare, and housing dimensions is increasingly clear. Knowing that the decision makers or the influentials must become involved, we do not know how to attract their commitments nor how to organize the unaffiliated in the depressed area so as to increase the indigenous leadership.

During the conference several expressions were repeated over and over again:

"We need more data. . . ."

"We need to test. . . ."

"How will this affect other programs if . . . ."

"Where will the teachers come from to . . . ."

"With limited resources, would it be more profitable to . . . ."

"Where will the money come from for . . . ."

Over and over, participants stuck on the question of whether the school alone can make the necessary impact without society's opening up really equal opportunities in employment, in housing, in civic affairs. The importance of full and equal employment opportunities cannot be overemphasized and is directly tied to educational attainment. We need to know much more about the nature, the consequences, the effects of the total societal milieu on educational opportunity. We need to know how each of the subfactors interacts with others to create the conditions for equal opportunity. We need to capitalize on the positive elements of life styles in the depressed areas, of ethnic and racial minority groups, of the city as an educational center in order to move ahead purposefully and unitedly to overcome the disadvantages of millions of Americans.

The outlook is both discouraging and hopeful. It is discouraging in terms of its size, complexity, bitterness, and the human cost involved. The outlook is hopeful in the forces which are being mobilized to dissect and resolve this wasteful, destructive problem of displaced citizens in a rejecting or ignoring homeland. The ideal is clear, the directions well marked; now the initial steps must be taken so that Americans all can move ahead toward the fullest realization of each individual's potential.

Some Psychological Aspects of Subcultures in Disadvantaged Areas

Erich Lindemann, M.D.

Some time ago we had an opportunity to talk with young mothers about their feelings when they brought their first young child to school, to deliver this child to the mercy or to the ministrations of the teacher. And some of the mothers told us that they felt very meek and uncomfortable when confronted with the teacher; they might even have felt like a little boy or little girl again themselves. If that happens with one teacher, how do I feel with seven hundred of you? So it will be quite an interesting enterprise to talk to you. I am a teacher of sorts, but I don't talk to youngsters — I talk to young men and young women who are medical students or young psychiatrists. Some of them have problems which they had a long time ago, and every once in a while I probably run across the same issues as you do; so maybe we are in the same league, after all.

The assigned topic for today is for me a fascinating one: namely, the problem of understanding from the psychological point of view why a good many of the people who are poor and lacking many of the opportunities in life are falling behind in the race for success. This issue has become urgent in the last decade. There used to be a time when it was thought to be God's will that some people must stay behind; maybe they were not such good people as the others. But today we do not believe that any more. We feel that there is some good reason for their being behind, which could be identified, and this could perhaps be tackled in a remedial way. If one begins to speak that way, one speaks like a clinician in a hospital. You assume that everything a patient brings to you is not due to guilt, or to naughtiness, or to God's will — that it is due to a natural combination of circumstances, which you probably could eradicate if you only understood them well. The problems of falling behind in poverty, or because one is stereotyped by reason of belonging to a certain race, or for having gotten into jail early in life — these problems are beginning to be understood just a little, only a little. And the people who have worked on this have been scholars in the social sciences who are concerned with problems of culture or of social systems, and by psychologists or psychiatrists, like myself, who have to treat a great many casualties of social conditions and the social process. These are persons who as children may get into the hands of a child guidance physician, or later arrive at the mental hospital as mentally sick persons who are supposed to be rehabilitated or restored to reasonably normal functioning. The psychiatrist, the psychologist, and the social scientist, together with social workers, have learned to work as teams, and have tried to do the kind of systematic studies which have made it possible to have a bit more than just educated opinions in these matters. Perhaps we are able to give evidence, as one does in other fields of science — to say, "This is due to that, and if you do this, you will prevent this from ever happening." With this kind of scientific underpinning, some of us hope to build what is now called "preventive psychiatry," to recognize danger signals in a youngster's life which alert us to the possibility that he may fall behind, and often, much more than that, that he will disintegrate in falling behind.

For the past fifteen years some of us have been quite busy with this. In fact, we have been busy in a very privileged community — in one of the Boston suburbs, Wellesley. We thought that the people there would be a little more articulate in telling us about themselves, about their youngsters, and that the youngsters might be a little more articulate than some other youngsters, and more trusting, in telling us how they feel, what their predicaments are, and how they master life's problems. We wanted to learn from them how to talk with people about such matters when they are not sick. That is quite different from talking as a doctor to someone who wants to get well. A patient may be willing to tell you a lot of things which the healthy person would be hesitant to tell you. So we learned how to find out from healthy people how they feel and feel with each other, and how they solve problems.

It was only at the time of the first relocation of some 10,000 people in the West End that we felt comfortable in asking these people also about their problems, at the time of a big crisis in their lives. And they were willing to trust us, because they felt, even though we did not help them with disease, that we might be able to help them with that predicament. How to master the life problem of being thrown out of your habitat, and how to master it so that, once relocated, you may be functioning as well as you did before or even better, even though you were torn away from your best friends on whom you used to rely, and even though your little corner store is not available any more, and even though your lovely apartment, which you fixed up in spite of the slums outside, is gone now, and how long a time would it ever take to build up? These people needed assistance with such problems, and we learned to be useful to them.

With this background it may not be too presumptuous to speak to you about the crisis in urban life which is such a challenge to all people of good will: the fact that a good many people on the urban scene, particularly new arrivals who have recently settled here, are living at this time under circumstances which make it hard for them to provide the necessary ingredients and the provisions for the children to grow up properly. Not having these ingredients, they feel resentful; they consider this or that city institution to be responsible, and there are some priority targets, as is well known, for this bitterness. And everybody begins to feel uncomfortable. Our work is to find out in detail what the conditions are with which we have to deal, and how we can solve such problems. Perhaps I might give today a little chapter in problem-solving, where the educator may have an opportunity to do a little better than he did before. I am sure you are doing awfully well under the circumstances, but I am also sure that you would like to have the opportunity to do a bit better.

What about these ingredients for normal personality development? A great deal of work has been done by biologists and by psychologists on the various stages of human development from the moment of birth, or even before birth, to adulthood. And it has turned out to be quite interesting that some seemingly farfetched things play a role in normal development.

For instance, a study was made in the state of Ohio which showed beyond doubt that the mother's nutrition, while she is pregnant, will have a considerable influence on the likelihood of the small child developing in a healthy or an unhealthy way, both physically and intellectually. We have known for some time that childhood nutrition is a fairly complicated business, and that in some regions of the world, especially Africa, where the culture on religious grounds prescribes certain foods and not others, people choose a diet that is catastrophic for their children. There is, for instance, a type of culturally-prescribed diet for youngsters which is based on some beliefs about bad spirits, which excludes proteins and is based entirely on carbohydrates. This diet is apt to make these youngsters develop very bad body systems; particularly they develop edema and become bloated, etc. Only if one is able to change the diet will the youngster get the kind of body structure which is desperately needed. If you look at the dietary resources of low-income families, you will find that the income prescribes what kind of diet to buy and what not. So the likelihood is that the combination of items going into the child's diet, even though perhaps enough to keep him alive and growing, might be deleterious to his normal growth.

No one will quibble with the assertion that good diet is a necessary ingredient for growth. But recently we have discovered other ingredients, perhaps not so obvious. Our Department of Pediatrics at the Massachusetts General Hospital has started to say that not only does the child need vitamin D in his milk in order not to get rickets, but he also needs in his psychological environment certain psychological nourishments which are a necessary part of the intake of the growing child. They have come to think about this: first of all, that for the child to have a sustained continuous relationship to the mother or to a person like mother — we spoke of mother surrogates — without a rapid turnover of such people in his life, is one of the very important ingredients. The next thing is that the mother must be reasonably able to pay attention to the child — not having to be busy with other things, for example, with a husband who is running away or who is alcoholic. To be around just in person, but not as a psychological nutrient, is not enough.

They feel there are three aspects of the mother's "being around" and being available which are crucial. One has to do with what is often called "tender loving care." That means that the child has to be cuddled often enough in a loving way, that his body is often enough felt by him as mapped out for him by a loving person. You know, we don't see our body unless it is mapped for us; it must be literally mapped out by a living person, to get a feeling of his bodily entity.

Second, the loving care must go with availability, so that the child's exploration and playing around and trying his first steps can be done under a loving, watching eye — so that when he feels he is about to fall, he can run back to mother. She is still around, and she won't suddenly disappear while he is trying to practice walking. This spills over to the second aspect of loving care, namely, the supervising function of the caretaker. The mother must protect the child from the inherent dangers in his explorations: when he tries to learn to walk, when he touches things he shouldn't, when he goes near a hot fire, etc. This intervention must be done by a trusted person, namely, the mother, rather than by a person who shouts and gives the child a high level of anxiety. When he is scared already from having touched the hot stove, if, on top of that, he is bawled out by whoever the mother surrogate is, if she is impatient — then you add to the experience of the hot stove an experience of anxiety and guilt, and the stove won't be explored any more, the child will not try next to come a little nearer the stove, but he will stay away from the stove entirely and permanently. Out of this develops the requirement for the youngster that the supervision must be an enabling situation, rather than a blocking supervision. It has to be arranged so that when the child makes an error, somebody is there to correct it.

The third aspect of this is that there must be enough give-and-take between the child and the mother figure so that there is an exchange of something. This has to do with language, obviously. It has to do with touching each other, learning how to point, learning how to hold things, learning how to give things to another person—all the fundamental things of human relations. This has to do with the give and take of daily life. It is learned from the mother or the mother surrogate, and if the mother is not available, or is busy and cannot do that kind of interaction, then there is a deficit in the child's development.

One of the problems of underprivileged situations has to do with the fact that in the early environment these ingredients are either missing or are present only for certain periods, and are absent for other periods. The child not only has a certain deficit of learning, but on top of that he gets a negative reaction to learning. Learning certain things becomes an emotionally charged thing in the negative, because it is connected with lack of perception, or bad experiences, rather than becoming the joy of discovery.

Normally, by the end of the second or third year, there should develop a drive not only for closeness to mother, not only for food, not only for getting rid of bad substances in the body by proper elimination, but there should also develop what is called the achievement drive — the wish to make something more than what was there before, like building a tower which will stand up, or playing with dolls to act out some life situation which one hasn't been able to handle with the parent. These opportunities for playful exploration with an increase of one's level of achievement are childhood experiences which decide whether or not one is able later, when one goes to school, to get into the role of the learner. The child who has had these experiences is willing and comfortable with achieving the things that the teacher imposes, and is trusting that the teacher will be around when one needs her, and that the teacher will be around not only to scold, but also to appreciate.

These things you have all learned in your teacher-training program, because this is the thing all good teachers need to do. But the youngster brings along certain preconceived notions about the way the teacher will probably behave, because the other teachers before he even got into school already behaved in a certain way. You have all learned about generalizations — you generalize from something you have learned, and then you have generalized categories of response rather than a focused response.

So the youngster may come to you very much impaired in his capacity to play the role of a pupil. Unfortunately, he will soon be one of those students who falls behind in learning, and will put into his head all your negative and disapproving responses, and pretty soon it will be almost like a self-realizing prediction — you will operate as the mother did before, whether you like it or not. You will be disapproving, you will have to interfere, you will scold, etc., to cajole him into becoming a good pupil. Only, by this time, cajoling only reinforces the very bad traits which unfortunately have developed through inappropriate mothering, and you get into the vicious circle.

Out of this has grown considerable interest, at the nursery school level, and in the mental health activities in public and private school systems, to add to the teacher's equipment a special skill, namely, of stepping out of the traditional and normal routine of teaching, and looking at this child in terms of his peculiar patterns of faulty learning, rather than saying that this child is an ill-equipped, feeble-minded, or retarded child, which would be the natural reaction — to blame it on inheritance or some early head injury or disease.

A great many of the children now thought of as retarded are retarded because of being disadvantaged; they are underachievers on the basis of having learned faulty learning routines. These routines are based on a very important sequence of emotional charges, and getting at them requires undoing the emotional charges. I do not know how many school phobias you have among your disadvantaged students. In the middle-class town in which we were working, school phobia was a very common occurrence. The child, after a few days in school, would bolt and just would not come back to school. Often the teacher is very nice indeed. But the child is responding not to the teacher or to the school, but to those aspects of the learning situation which are so frightening and so charged with fearful anticipation that he just can't stand being in the school setting. A good deal of the information about this set of problems has indeed been culled from studying school phobias.

This has served to show that when you get the children the groundstones are already laid in their families for their basic reactions to school. What you can do then is only remedial, perhaps to learn what the situation is and, by joining forces with other people in educational programs, to help the mothers to do their early educational training better. But there, of course, you get hung up when these families are disadvantaged, because under the impact of the cultural discrimination against these disadvantaged slum populations, whether colored or not (this is true for all slums, white slums, too), you find that the mother herself is often under a fantastic load of emotional problems and in dire economic need, and so with the best will she cannot provide these ingredients. Often, however, she is quite loathe to surrender this prerogative to other people, and, furthermore, there are not, in town, provisions for finding proper mother surrogates.

So you have the problem of physical ingredients, and you have the problem of psychological ingredients. But you also have the problem of another ingredient of personality development and that is the social ingredient, beyond the mother-child relationship. Namely, is there a climate in the neighborhood which makes the youngster feel comfortable not only at home, but also in the back yard and on the street? There should be a group of other youngsters with whom he can test out the limits of what is culturally accepted — what one can and cannot do: playing with each other; beating each other up in the right way, without exactly killing each other; swiping things sometimes, learning that you do it only occasionally, and under special circumstances; breaking into the neighbor's place with other kids and learning that it is really not the right thing to do.

Do these natural limits of our lives promise a reasonably contented life, one in which we can get some things but not other things — or is it a deprived life? Namely, in our neighborhood there is always a policeman around, and we cannot do anything; while we know, or we think, that in other neighborhoods the kids get away with a lot more than we do. In other words, there is an arbitrary discrimination which does not allow us to do things which other people are allowed to do. If this sets in, as it often does very early with these children, they begin to have quite early this feeling of resentment. Other people are the "haves" and we are the "have-nots."

And that we are the have-nots is not decreed by nature, but it has to do with somebody's discrimination. "Somebody" may be one of many people. Often it is the policeman as the most visible person, who somehow seems to be instructed by the haves to step on the have-nots. Often it is the politician who is not for us, but against us. Sometimes it looks as if some parents in the neighborhood, who are do-gooders, and who do not understand kids, are around at just the wrong moment. The common point is that one finds a villain, a villain whom one blames for this. And one gets the posture of finding somebody whose fault it is; otherwise the road would be much better for us.

In many underadvantaged areas, as the child grows a little older, it is not only not having quite enough to eat or quite the right clothes, or not having the money for going to the movies. As he grows older, he begins to see that the parents have a great many worries; they also have villains in their minds, they also feel that they are being kept away from some good in the world which they might otherwise have had. It may be a job — why cannot Dad get a job? It may be that certain stores, the nice stores, are always outside our neighborhood, so we cannot buy the things which other people buy. Our streets are never cleaned, but streets in other places seem always to be clean. And this curious feeling develops that the world is against us, and, furthermore, our own effort makes no bit of difference, because this is decreed elsewhere.

Out of this grows a death knell to the achievement drive. Because the achievement drive will function only if the achievement is a measured achievement which will bring success within the bounds of a certain amount of effort. If the effort is infinite, the goal in the far distance (the effort now to get to the moon, for instance, many of us feel is a waste of money), these children might feel that this is a waste of their energy, too, that it is impossible to get there anyway.

Furthermore, the "getting somewhere" is often construed not to be learning or to reaching higher levels of achievement and skill, but the outsmarting of the villain, finding some way of getting around that villain, or getting to be a bigger and better villain. And we know of some organizations that have developed this to a very fine point, and some of these organizations have indeed been very successful.

Now where do you come in, with the schools? Some of the youngsters have these convictions deeply ingrained by the time they reach you. Some of the youngsters will learn along with you until the pull and push of other lessons takes a hold on them, until the drive for direct gratification becomes much bigger, both in terms of relationships to the other sex and in terms of using sheer power and drive to master and get for yourself what you cannot get otherwise — first by beating up, then by shooting, etc.

Or, perhaps another good way of doing it is by the sit-down strike; just do not cooperate. While that is not as dangerous, it can be just as effective. So you have this problem of a segment of the school population having an emotional set, culturally produced. This is inimical to learning, which is hard under the best of circumstances.

In addition to providing learning materials and learning opportunity, you also have to provide a way of getting around this emotional set. And indeed you can, given time. Some of us think that probably we need a lot of mental health consultants in the school system to help you with the doing of this; but some of us also say that you ought to do it — that it cannot be done by the mental health worker, but that it has to be done in the school system with the right kind of consultation. This is a fascinating challenge to all of us.

So having then this problem of an adaptation which is contrary to the best learning climate . . . you look around at your own classroom, look at your own children; knowing who the troubled children are, you hope that these troubled children will not take up 50 percent of all your energy, maybe 80 percent, so that you will not have time left for the really good youngsters. But the remarkable thing about human nature is that even in the most disadvantaged group of children you find a few who sail through all of this, who are able to be good, who are able to cooperate with you, who come to love you, and to rely on you. They become your pride, and they redeem the hardship of the teacher's life; because you really have someone with whom you can work.

And we have, of course, the remarkable thing that, throughout the centuries and even in the last few troubled decades, members of the most disadvantaged segments of our society have become very successful people indeed. There are Negroes such as Dr. Bunche. Think what he has done for peace in the world, to mention only one. In other words, there are, built into the human machinery, some remedial mechanisms and adaptive compensatory mechanisms which work to salvage a person from the calamity in which he lives.

From these people we can learn a good deal. We can learn how they do it. As a matter of fact, that has become for us a technique, as psychiatrists and psychologists. We do a lot more work now with successful people than with sick people, because we like to learn from the successful people what to tell the unsuccessful people to get them over their troubles. We have used this a great deal with bereaved people. Some people who lose a dear person in their lives might completely break down under it, develop a physical illness or mental illness, or get into terrible mischief afterwards. And there are some grieving people who carry on the torch, who know how to master this, who come out better than before. Now, how do the good grievers do this, and what can we tell the poor grievers about this?

This became one of our challenges in our research, and this is the sort of thing which really was the guiding post to our subsequent studies in mental health, because a great many calamities can be looked at as crises in life, such as losing a dear one; but somehow one has to adapt to it and get over it.

Even for a child who has to leave the home and then be in school from that point on, and face the teacher, this is a transition which has some of the qualities of grieving. For instance, homesickness, that we see in some youngsters, we see often in older children. We find that in the schools of nursing, young nursing students who dropped out at the rate of 40 percent turned out, upon inspection, not to be maladapted to nursing school, but they were so homesick that everything was hard for them. Nobody realized that the homesickness, or the bereavement component of the adjustment, was the thing that was impeding their staying in this particular professional school. So we have become alerted to aspects of transition from home into school, from one class to the other, from one teacher to the other, and from one home to the other, from one location in town to another location in town, from one school to the other. All these transitions are real hazards and represent hazards to the children, and one has to pay special attention to these crises in addition to doing the routine teaching program.

Learning, then, from our successful persons how we might help unsuccessful persons to succeed, we become very grateful to them for telling us about their success. What we would like to do next is the most important thing of all. This is, can we see to it that not such a large segment of the population has to become casualties? As psychiatrists working for prevention we want to intercede in a preventive way, and discover early not those youngsters who are sick, but the youngsters who are in danger, because in this particular environment their special traits will be against their success. And there comes a whole field of possible operation in the educational system, if one has enough manpower and enough flexibility in terms of arranging children in groups, staggering the learning tasks in such a way that they are compatible with felt needs.

What, then, if the school system itself is underprivileged, and has to operate with an especially difficult population of children who are near illness, even though not quite ill, but has the same or even less resources than school systems which deal with the more privileged children who do not come to school impaired? Then the school system is at a disadvantage. And then comes the great problem of how, with limited resources, to evolve arrangements which would both provide learning resources, and also work out ways in which the special impairments and special hazards to which the children are exposed can be remedied, at least to some extent.

There is a good deal of experimentation going on. You know of the fascinating work which ABCD is doing now. There are experimental programs to see if reading disabilities might be picked up as a good signal that something is wrong, and around these to develop a program to test out how a small group of children might experimentally be supplied with this kind of emotional support which I have mentioned.

If, indeed, they do better, can one demonstrate that it would pay to provide this kind of support on a large scale? And then provide in addition mental health consultants in such a strategic way that they would be available to the teacher when she is in crisis, when she is getting fed up, she just cannot stand it any more. Maybe if she had a little success once in a while, this kind of reward, teaching would be ever so much more fun. And it can be. If this kind of experimentation should succeed — and we dearly hope it would — we may have some scientific basis on which planning should proceed, which could show that some money, which would be wasted now, would be properly spent to salvage a good many of the youngsters who presently fall behind or become sick. Unfortunately, we psychiatrists do know that the disadvantaged part of the population produces more candidates for the mental hospitals than the advantaged parts of the population do. That does not mean that rich people do not get mentally sick, too; but they often have nicer forms of being mentally sick, and can be successfully treated by doctors, and not required to go to mental hospitals.

And so we psychiatrists are very much concerned with the possibility of being helpful with preventive programs while the youngsters are still young, and can still be sufficiently molded; in other words, before they are so sick that it takes years of confinement, or years of expensive effort by very highly trained personnel, to restore them to normal functioning. We are concerned with the tremendous waste of manpower — with the great many youngsters who, not having acquired the love of learning, will not be able to go into advanced learning about computers and electronics; about machinery of a highly complicated type which will be essential for their advancement and future self-respect. You have a wonderful task ahead — an exciting challenging task. You are one side of the alliance. You need us, and we need you. So I hope we will see a lot of each other in the future.